LAVENDER HILL, SW11 1JB
Telephone 01-871 7467

# THE MERMAID AND MITRE TAVERNS IN OLD LONDON

*Titus Wilson & Son, Printers, Kendal*

# The Mermaid and Mitre Taverns in Old London

BY

KENNETH ROGERS,

O.B.E., M.D. (London)

Author of

*The Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap*, etc.

*ILLUSTRATED FROM DRAWINGS BY PHYLLIS PITCAIRN AND FROM OTHER SOURCES.*

THE HOMELAND ASSOCIATION LTD.,
37 & 38 Maiden Lane, Covent Garden,
LONDON, W.C.2. . . and at Edinburgh.

X 394 G.

Reference Library

No. ~~23515~~ 20

725.7209421 2ROC-E

101095335

E0000 94801

*First Published . . . 1928.*

Battersea Public Library.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | PAGES. |
|---|---|
| General Remarks on the Signs and Taverns | 1-5 |
| The Mermaid in Bread Street | 6-36 |
| The Mermaid in Cheapside | 36-48 |
| The Mermaid, Aldersgate | 48-68 |
| The Mermaid, Billingsgate | 68-71 |
| The Mermaid, Bow Lane | 72-74 |
| The Mermaid, Charing Cross | 74-76 |
| The Mermaid, Cornhill | 76-81 |
| The Mermaid, Paternoster Row and other Mermaid Taverns | 81-82 |
| The Mermaid Inn, Carter Lane | 82 |
| The Mitre in Cheapside | 83-109 |
| The Mitre in Bread Street | 109-119 |
| The Mitre, Aldgate | 119-121 |
| The Mitres in Bishopsgate Street, Chancery Lane, and Ely Place | 121-124 |
| The Mitre, Fenchurch Street | 124-131 |
| The Mitre, Fleet Street | 131-143 |
| Some Famous Fleet Street Taverns | 143-157 |
| The Mitre, New Fish Street | 157-159 |
| The Mitre, St. Paul's Churchyard | 159-163 |
| The Mitre in the Strand | 163-164 |
| The Mitre, Wood Street | 165-172 |
| Appendix A. Extracts from the Vintners' Company's Records | 174-189 |
| Appendix B. Vintners' Poll Tax List, 1641 | 190-193 |

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sign of the Mermaid in Bread Street | *to face p.* | 5 |
| The Mermaid Tavern, Cheapside; plan of Site | ,, | 37 |
| The Mermaid Tavern, Bow Lane; plan of Site | ,, | 72 |
| Sign of the Mermaid in Bow Lane | ,, | 74 |
| Sign of the Mitre Tavern | ,, | 109 |
| Tokens of Mermaid and Mitre Taverns | ,, | 128 |
| Tokens of Famous Fleet Street Taverns | ,, | 156 |
| Plan showing position of the Mitre in Wood Street | ,, | 167 |


The plans from the original Survey by Oliver and Mills are reproduced by the kind permission of the Library Committee, Guildhall.

# PREFATORY NOTE

IN the following account of the Mermaid and Mitre taverns in Old London, many fresh details from unpublished MS. sources will be found concerning the taverns and their vintners.

In addition to the notes on these particular signs, considerable information is given concerning other London taverns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with lists of the most famous houses in Tudor times, and details of the vintners who occupied them. A fairly complete sketch is thus presented for the first time of this side of London life at that period, the interest of which is increased by extracts from contemporary wills and other deeds, including some important new material from the unpublished MS. records of the Vintners' and other Companies. A section is also devoted to some interesting inhabitants and taverns of Fleet Street in the seventeenth century.

A considerable amount of research has enabled the author to determine with exactness the sites of many of these taverns. The sites and even the names of the greater number of the houses have been long forgotten, though they were well known land-marks in Shakespeare's time, and were the social gathering and news-distributing places, the clubs and *restaurants* of the period.

It may be surprising to some to learn that there were so many Mermaid and Mitre taverns in London, but the Mermaid in Bread Street and the Mitre in Cheapside are shown to have been the most ancient and important houses with those signs. The *Mermaid* in Bread Street is here clearly distinguished for the first time from the *Mermaid* in Cheapside (a subject of much discussion in the past),

and the *Mitre* in Cheap from the *Mitre* in Bread Street, and evidence from MS. sources is given in support of these statements. The story of the taverns is closely interwoven with the social and civic, and perhaps we may add the intellectual, life of the old city, and the author hopes to be able to complete the account (of which this is a first instalment) of these interesting houses in the period between Henry VIII's reign and the Great Fire, for which he already possesses full materials.

# THE MERMAID AND MITRE TAVERNS IN OLD LONDON.

THERE were many houses with these signs in the old City, and some of them were well-known and important taverns. Beaumont, in his verse-letter to Ben Jonson, supplies definite evidence of meetings at a "Mermaid" tavern, and, though he does not specify the street, it will be shown that he probably referred to the tavern in Bread Street. Ben Jonson mentions this house on one occasion, and that remarkable traveller, Tom Coryate, confirms the claims of the Mermaid in Bread Street. In the following pages a great many details will be found concerning the various Mermaids and Mitres, in many cases collected from unpublished manuscript sources, and the names of many of the vintners who occupied them before the Great Fire will also be found. In most cases the exact sites of the taverns will be shown, and this is a matter of considerable importance, for without this knowledge very little can be ascertained of the past history of old houses. Notes will also be found on the issuers of tokens, between 1648 and 1672, and in several cases their names (which were unknown heretofore) will be given. The question of the position of "the Mitre in Cheap" and "the Mermaid in Bread Street" is fully discussed in the sections dealing with those houses, in which also the various references to these signs by the old dramatists are quoted. Much of the material in these pages has been extracted from the MS. Hustings Rolls at the Guildhall, the "Repertories" there, the Clifford's Inn

Fire Decrees, the Subsidy lists at the Record Office, and the various MS. Churchwarden's Accounts.

The "Mermaid" was a favourite tavern sign in Old London, and in only one instance of any importance was used as an *inn* sign. The idea can hardly have been that the Siren lured men to their *ruin*, but rather that the sweet and melodious voices of the red and white wines invited the passer-by to enter and drown his cares. The Mermaid is found as an inn sign at Rye, and probably elsewhere, while perhaps the most appropriate use of the sign is on the inn at Sorrento in Southern Italy. At Reims there was an inn called "la Seraine" (Sirène) in 1466. In 1483 a certain Jean Nyeble had a courtyard between the inn at the sign of "the Raven" (Corbault) on one side and "l'ostel ou pend la Seraine" on the other side. The Mermaid was evidently painted on a hanging signboard, for from 1553 to 1655 the house "en laquelle pend pour Enseigne la Seraine" is mentioned.[1]

The Mitre sign in Old London was also adopted on taverns, not inns. After the Reformation the sign was frequently used on sites which had previously belonged to a bishop or to one of the great Religious Houses, and in some cases a mitre, sculptured on the wall, probably existed already as a badge of ownership. "The Mitre in Cheap" existed long before the Reformation, and was probably an example of a tavern attached to a great Religious House—in this case to the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, to which this Mitre Tavern belonged. Inns and taverns have been frequently confused by writers on Old London, and used almost as synonymous terms. The taverns, originally for the sale of wine only, were kept by taverners in earlier times, who obtained their wines from vintners, or "Gascony Merchants," who imported the wine to their wharves in Vintry Ward. Probably the vintner nearly always controlled or owned certain taverns,

[1] Les Enseignes de Reims—Henri Jadart.

which were "tied-houses," and from about 1500 onwards the vintners themselves kept the taverns (probably with a licence from the Company to sell by retail) though a certain number remained who were simple importers. From Elizabeth's reign, onwards, the occupiers of the taverns are nearly always described as "Vintner," or member of the Vintners' Company.

The innholders had different cares, for they were responsible for supplying food and lodging for their guests, as well as stabling, hay, etc., for their horses. The Monasteries in earlier times, and at very considerable cost, served as inns for travellers, though there were no doubt always scattered ale-houses where a bed (of some sort) could be obtained, but in course of time the public "harbour" or hostel was developed, at first kept by the "Hostelers and Herbergeours." In 1473 the hostellers petitioned the Lord Mayor "that they might be called inholders, and in no wise hostellers." The Innholders' Charter of 1515 describes them as "the Art and Mystery of St. Julian le Herberger of Innholders of the City of London." The innholder employed a Chamberlain, who arranged the rooms for the guests, "tapsters" who drew the beer, and hostlers, etc., while the taverner (or vintner) employed "drawers" to serve his wine.

Strype, 1720, II, p. 344, gives an interesting extract from an ancient book concerning the profits permitted to innholders and taverners. The assize of an Innholder is that his measures been assised and selid (stamped) . . . and he to have of every Busshel Provander one penny of wynnyngs over that the Market gooth. And his Botell of Hay of an Halfpenny shall wey seven pound and his Litter free—And his Fagot of wood of an Halfpeny shal be three Shaftments about and an half, and a yard of length. And he shal sell a Pot of three Pyntis of the best Ale within hym for a peny. And if he kepe any Bawdry with$^{n}$ hym (in his house, *cf. chez soi*) his Fyne is at every

tyme 6s. 8d. (after two warnings, the third time " to be judged to the Pyllory").

Taverner:—" He shall be no excessive Taker, of his rede wyne and white wyne of every Galon but 2d. wynnyng: and of all other swete wynys but 4d. wynnyng of the Galon "—(all his wine to be first tasted by the officers of the Mayor or Bailiff or their deputies), and "to see that it be good and abul wyne: and his vessels to be gaugid and so markyd upon the Hedis . . . and if he sell any fective wyne his Taverne dore to be selid in."

In the following account I have endeavoured to take the history of many of these taverns back to a much earlier period than has been done before. It is often supposed that Stow, in his Survey of London, gave a complete picture of the city in Elizabeth's reign—but as a matter of fact his account (though of great value and interest as a description of the streets in his day) tells us little of the life of the old city, of its amusements, its theatres, taverns or inns. The inns were, in some sort, comparable to the stations of the present day, and those in certain streets were in constant touch and communication with certain parts of the country—e.g. those in Bread Street and Friday Street, and near Holborn Bridge, with the western counties, those in Bishopsgate Street and Aldgate, with the east, those in Wood Street and Aldersgate Street with the north, and Gracechurch Street with London Bridge and the south. The taverns were local clubs, where news was circulated of local and national events, for in earlier days there were no daily newspapers as we have to-day. The various records at the Guildhall enable us, however, to fill in many gaps in his account of London. Strype's edition is very useful, as he adds a general account with maps, of London in 1720; but we generally seek in vain for any direct assistance in locating such taverns as the Mermaids and Mitres. In concluding these general remarks, I must acknowledge the constant assistance of

THE MERMAID TAVERN IN BREAD STREET.

After T.D.'s token of 1657.

*To face p.* 5.

Mr. A. H. Thomas, Clerk of the Records at the Guildhall, in guiding me to the various records, and in deciphering some of the older Hustings Rolls; and also the unfailing help and advice of Mr. Douthwaite, the Librarian at the Guildhall. The Rectors of the various City Churches have also been most kind and generous in granting facilities for examining their records.

It may be that these records will be found too dull to appeal to many—the very nature of such research necessitates a great mass of detail which can hardly be presented in a light form. If, however, this account should make a sufficient appeal, the writer has already collected similar material concerning most of the other interesting signs in the old City of London.

## THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE MERMAID.

Perhaps it will be as well to make a few remarks about the two Mermaid illustrations in this book. So far as I know there is no authentic representation of any of the old Mermaid Sign-boards. On the tokens issued before the Fire at various houses with this Sign, the figure of the Mermaid, her pose, and the curve of her *tail* (sometimes to her left and sometimes to her right side) varied considerably, and it occurred to me that it was not unreasonable to suppose that the Mermaids on the sign-boards resembled those on the tokens of certain houses. Miss Phyllis Pitcairn has made drawings of the Mermaid in Bread Street and the Mermaid in Bow Lane, in each case founded on the general pose of the figures on their respective tokens, and has added the issuer's initials and the date. This appears to me to have a certain interest, for these tokens were issued before the Great Fire, though (as all collectors of the tokens know) the figures are very minute and not very well struck. The Mermaid on the

Cheapside tavern token is very similar (though from a different die) to the Bread Street one.

## MERMAID TAVERNS IN OLD LONDON.

### The Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street.

It is, I think, frequently supposed that so much has already been written about this tavern that there is little need for a modern writer to approach the subject again. Whether this be so or not I must leave the reader of the following pages to decide, and will only remark that the *site* of the tavern has never before been accurately determined, and that therefore very little knowledge could be obtained of its past history, and the same remark applies to the accounts of other "Mermaids" and "Mitres." A few old references, and some conjectures concerning these houses have been repeated from one book on Old London to another, but I trust that the fresh details given in these notes will be found of interest.

The famous tavern of the poets is generally described as "the Mermaid in Cheap," though there really appears to be no evidence that the dramatists ever frequented the tavern in Cheapside, and the few references we possess point to "the Mermaid Tavern" in Bread Street as the house where Ben Jonson held his court with Beaumont and other "sons of Ben." The Mermaid in Cheapside, the Mermaid in Bread Street, and many other Mermaids were swept away in the Great Fire. For a long period after the rebuilding of the City, little or no interest was taken in the "Mermaids" and "Mitres" or their sites, which were completely forgotten; so many buildings of greater importance had been destroyed that the fact that Shakespeare or Ben Jonson had frequented certain taverns would then have aroused little curiosity. The XIXth century brought a tremendously increased interest in

Shakespeare, and with it a desire to find out something of his life and favourite haunts, and, since little or nothing could be discovered, his Shade was given a home in the Mermaid Tavern, variously described as in Cheap, in Bread Street, or Friday Street. Gifford, in his edition of Ben Jonson's works, stated that, " Sir Walter Raleigh . . . had instituted a meeting of *beaux esprits* at the ' Mermaid,' a celebrated tavern in Friday Street. Of this Club . . . our author was a member, and here for many years he regularly repaired, with Shakespeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Cotton, Carew, Martin, Donne, and many others." This statement played a great part in the creation of the modern legend of " the Mermaid," but, so far as I know, the authority for Gifford's statement has never been discovered. When Raleigh was imprisoned in 1603, Beaumont was only seventeen years old, and Carew about five. As will be seen below, however, Tom Coryat definitely showed that some such circle of wits met at the Mermaid in Bread Street about 1612, and from this and other evidence we may assume that Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher and other " Sons of Ben," and probably John Donne, were of the party of " Noble Sirenaicks," as Coryat called them, which we might explain as " Mermaidites." Probably the Sirenical Fraternity met from about 1606 to 1616, in which year Beaumont died. It is not unlikely that Shakespeare occasionally formed one of the party, though we can more readily imagine his passing an evening in the quieter company of Drayton.

### The Site of the Mermaid in Bread Street.

The tavern was variously described as in Cheap, in Bread Street, and in Friday Street, and what could therefore be more natural than to suppose that it stood near the *corner* of Bread Street? Burn, in his interesting list of London Traders' Tokens, said:—" The Mermaid in

Bread Street, the Mermaid in Friday Street, and the Mermaid in Cheap, were all one and the same. The tavern, situated behind, had a way to it from these thoroughfares, but was nearer to Bread Street than Friday Street." This statement has been copied by most writers on the subject since. Wheatley, " London Past and Present," says:—" The explanation of these differences of designation is, however, simple. The house lay back from Bread Street and had passage entrances from Cheapside and Friday Street, that from Cheapside . . . . being the most important." The reader will perhaps be surprised to learn that there does not appear to be any evidence supporting these statements. The famous block of Goldsmiths' houses in Cheapside, called " Goldsmiths Row " by Stow, lay between Bread and Friday Streets, and the premises down the west side of Bread Street still belong to the Goldsmiths' Company, but I cannot learn that they have any records of a " Mermaid Tavern " there. In the following pages I shall endeavour to show that the real explanation is simple; there was a Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside, by Saddler's Hall, and *another* Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street, but some distance south of Cheapside and near Old Fish Street. The Bread Street Mermaid was famous for its fish dinners, and therefore its proximity to the old Fish Market, and also to the Stairs on the Thames, was of greater importance to its custom than if its site had been near Cheapside, for in former times the River was the great highway of London.

Thornbury's ' Old and New London ' (I, p. 350) says:—" The ' Mermaid ' Tavern, in Cheapside, about the site of which there has been endless controversy, stood in Bread Street, with side entrances, as Mr. Burn has shown, with admirable clearness, in Friday Street and Bread Street; hence the disputes of antiquaries. Mr. Burn, in his book on " Tokens," says, " The site of the Mermaid is clearly

defined, from the circumstances of W.R., a haberdasher of small wares, 'twixt Wood Street and Milk Street,' adopting the sign, 'Over Against the Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside'." Timbs also quotes the statements made by Burn. In Williamson and Boyne's list of tokens, the inscription on the token (used by Burn with such important results in establishing the Mermaid site) runs however as follows:—"At ye Maremade, Twixt Milk Stre. Wood Str.—Haberdasher. Small. Wares. In Cheapside. W.R." On the token is the figure of a mermaid. There is no sign of the words given by Burn, "Over against," or "Tavern." I have carefully examined the token at the Guildhall (which was doubtless the one used by Burn, for this was the collection described in his book), and it is very much detrited and nearly illegible, but there is no sign of the words that he quotes. Mr. G. C. Brooke, of the Department of Coins, British Museum, very kindly wrote to me in March, 1925: "The Museum specimen is rather poor; but it confirms Boyne's reading, the only doubtful words being AT. YE. and these appear, as far as I can judge, to read correctly." The evidence derived from this token appears therefore to be valueless, and it is strange that none of the writers, who have accepted Burn's statement as a proof, appear to have examined the token itself.

However tedious, it will, I think, be recognised that I was bound to deal fully with the statements made by Burn and others regarding the Mermaid site, for they have been so long and generally accepted. I will now proceed to give the fresh discoveries that I have made, which show that the Mermaid Tavern lay between Bread Street and Friday Street, in the parish of St. Mildred, and that its site was formerly close to Old Fish Street (which is now absorbed in Queen Victoria Street). Several years ago it occurred to me that 'the Mermaid' sign was possibly adopted on some of the houses belonging to the Fishmongers' Company

from the Mermaid which forms one of the supporters of their Arms, and, although I know now that there is no general connection of the sign with that Company, in this case the inspiration proved a happy one !

I learnt, by the kind assistance of Mr. Hooper, Clerk to the Fishmongers' Company, that they have some old property in the lower part of Bread Street, in the parish of St. Mildred, between Bread Street and Friday Street, which was formerly known as " The Mermaid Tavern." This property they still own, Nos. 29 and 30 on the West side of Bread Street (nearly opposite, but south of St. Mildred's Church), and running through to Nos. 37 and 38, Friday Street.

The following extracts from deeds in the Hustings Rolls (Guildhall), confirm the fact that " the Mermaid " was in the parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street (whereas all the *upper* end of Bread Street towards Cheapside is in the parish of All Hallows):—

le Mermaid, parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street.

1411. John Leget, Wm. Russell, Wm. de Multon, Wm. Rede and Peter Parker, Fishmongers, grant to William Olyver, grocer, John Shawe, vintner, and Sir John Sproxton, clerk . . . All that tenement with all its appurtenances [&c.] called " le Mermayde " situate in the parish of Saint Mildred in Bread Street London, between the tenement formerly of Elene atte Corner, now of John Shadworth on the North side, and the tenement of the Abbot of Nottelee on the South side, and the Kings highway of Bred strete towards the East, and the Kings highway of Friday Street towards the West . . . which tenement we John Leget [etc.] . . late had from the sale . . . of Wm. Chaumbre executor of the Will of William Newport late fishmonger London . . . as enrolled in the Hustings of London at the Feast of St. Augustine Bishop, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Henry IV . . . . To have and to hold . . . by the aforesaid Wm. Olyver, [etc.] . . . from the chief lords of the fee . . . Richard Merlawe then Mayor of London . . . Thos. Pyke, Stephen Bugg, sheriffs, . . . 5th day of October in the 12th year of the reign of the said King Henry IVth.[1]

[1] Hustings Roll 138 (13).

(Richard Marlowe was Mayor in 1409, and Thomas Pyke sheriff in 1410, but Stephen Bugg is not given in the list of sheriffs in that year).

Stephen Bugg is mentioned by Stow in his list of the monuments in St. Mildred's Church; he also mentions the monument in St. Nicholas Olave, to Wm. Newport, fishmonger, one of the sheriffs in 1375. His will, of 1391, is quoted by Dr. Sharpe in the C. H. W., II, p. 287, in which he left to Massia his wife his tenement in the parish of S. Mildred de Bredestrete for life; remainder to pious uses—and this was presumably 'The Mermaid.'

John Shadworth, who lived north of the Mermaid, was Mayor in 1401-2. William Chambre, fishmonger, in 1407 was mainprised by John Leget (and others) to keep the peace towards the rector of St. Margaret Moses.

The next deed is a grant in fee-tail:

1444. Grant from John Fuller, Chaplain, Thomas Hayward, haberdasher, Roger Aleyn, and Simon Leviger, clerk. To—William Goodman and Johanna his wife . . . " All that tenement called le Mermayde in the parish of St. Mildred Bread Street". . . . as described in the deed of 1410 except that the tenement on the North has now passed to John Barnewell—(the deed states that the Mermaid had recently been conveyed to the grantors by the above mentioned William Goodman.)[1]

These two deeds evidently concerned the Siren of my quest, for it was hardly likely that there were two Mermaids between Bread and Friday Streets; and served also to identify the site with the Fishmongers' property in St. Mildred's parish.

The kindness of the officials of the Fishmongers' Company, enables me to give the following extracts from their records:—

1594. " Edmond Williamson, Vyntner, tenant of the Company's tenement called the Mermayde in Bread Street, continued his suit for a longer term " . . . granted for 16 years—(In his

[1] H. R. 174 (29).

repairs and building, " not to stopp any lights of any of the Company's Tenements adjoining the same house ").

1594. Feb. 10th. The Indenture of lease granted to Mr. Williamson of the Mermayde Taverne in Bread Street for one and fortie yeres from Midsummer 1594 is sealed upp—and the said Mr. William Williamson (who was carrying out some extensive rebuilding of the Mermaid) applies for a longer lease of the house. The clerk to the Fishmongers' Company has very kindly looked up (and shown me) all the references to Mr. Williamson and he is always called *William* except in the first entry, where he is called Edmond, which was probably a clerical error.

1594. Feb. 22nd. Mr. Williamson prays for leave to build over the kitchen of the Mermaid—by which he may stop some of the light of John Hay's house, but offers to make amends for this in other ways. He has spent £300 in new building according to the covenant of the lease, and in view of this great expenditure desires to have a longer term. In 1596 he is again mentioned as Mr. William Williamson.

1596. Mr. Williamson Tennant of the Mermayde in Bread Street came, and prayed to have his Lease newly granted . . . at a Court held here April 1596 . . . (the deed) to be sealed upp.

1617. To a Court . . . came Mr. Robert Shepherd, the Company's Tenant in a small Tenement in Bread Street next to the Mermayd Taverne . . . (begged to renew his lease).

Robert Sheppard appears in lists of the Pewterers' Company, 1602 to 1619 in which year he was Master.

1629. Mr. Meade, vintner, dwelling in the Mermaid Tavern, requests renewal of his lease (as Mr. Williamson's).

1631. William Meade, vintner at the Mermaide in Bred street, moves the Company that they will be pleased to graunt him a (longer) lease of the same house belonging to the Company wherein he hath five years to come and to grant a further 20 years after the expiry . . . (the Company consider his offer " too little a great deale " . . . . . and it is left to them to " impose or sett down a some or fyne ").

1632. Mr. Meade's lease of the Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street sealed.

1637. Wm. Meade had mortgaged his lease of the Mermaid to Richard Fuller . . . " Mr. Fuller the Assignee of the Lease made to William Meade the Vintner."

1657, 25 April. " Ordered that if Richard Fuller, draper, shall forthwith pay unto Mr. Warden Norton for this Company the sum of £300 . . . the counterpart of a lease to be made unto him of

the Mearemaid Taverne in Bread Street and Friday streete, with the appurtenances, etc. . . for the term of 25 yeares from Michaelmas 1663, being the tyme of the expiration of his Lease . . . at the old yearly rent of eight pounds with the Company . . . . (Sealed in 1658).

The next extract shows the disposal of the site of the Mermaid, which was destroyed in the Great Fire.

1667. "Ordered that Richard Fuller in consideration of his new building and payment of arrears of his old rent of 8 li. a year . . . and delivery to the Master of the Company for the Company's uses, of a good fatt bucke in the season thereof . . . the said Richard Fuller shall have a lease of the ground and soyle whereon the Mearmaid Tavern and other Tenements adjoining and intermixed therewith, late in the occupation of Richard Fuller, of John Hulbert, and Edward Gilbert, Neare unto Bread Street and Friday street, lately stood and were burnt down."

Edward Gilbert was Master of the Pewterers' Company in 1662, and probably had Shepherd's house. "The ground whereon the Mermaid Tavern lately stood!" The old house had disappeared for ever, as the curtain fell on the closing scene of the great tragedy of Old London. May I respectfully suggest that now (after the lapse of some two centuries and a half), it would not be inappropriate for the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers to pay a kindly tribute to the ashes of their famous house, by placing a memorial tablet on the site, beneath a sculptured or painted figure of the Mermaid, with her mirror and comb. Passers-by would then be reminded that once the sign of "the Mermaid," swinging far across the street, beckoned the mighty figures of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and his twin-brother Fletcher, Donne, Middleton, Dekker and Marston, and perhaps the immortal Shakespeare.

Old Fish Street was only a few yards south of the Mermaid Tavern, and there for centuries was a great market for fish—William Newport, mentioned in the deed of 1410, was a fishmonger, and it is quite possible though

the Company's earlier Records were unfortunately destroyed, that the Mermaid belonged to the Fishmongers long before 1410. The taverns near Old Fish Street, notably 'the White Horse,' 'the Swan,' and 'the Mermaid,' were probably greatly frequented on Fridays and during Lent before the Reformation, for fish dinners and suppers. The appeal from William Meade, quoted below, suggests that the change of religion, or of its observances, had seriously damaged the custom of the Mermaid (though the immediate cause of his appeal was the edict of Charles I against the taverns).

I will now give some old references to 'the Mermaid,' from various sources. The accounts of the Steward of Sir John Howard, the eminent Yorkist who was born about 1430, and is well-known as the 'Jocky of Norfolk' who was killed at Bosworth field with his master, King Richard the Third, contain several payments at the Mermaid.

Nov. 5th 1462. Item, my mastyr payd for t'on di. [*i.e.* the one half] off the dynner at the Mermayde be my lordys comawndement—xiiii$^{s}$. vi$^{d}$. ("My lord" was John Mowbray, last Duke of Norfolk of that name).

March 4, 1463-4. "Item for vi of my mastyrs mannys soper in Bred Stret xiiij$^{d}$." "Item, the xxvi day of March 1464, payd for wyn at the Mermayd in Bred Stret, for my mastyr and Syre Nycholas Latemer, x$^{d}$. ob."

The accounts also show a payment for empty wine-pipes for Sir John Howard's carvel, Sept., 1468, twelve from the Mermaid, at xd. each.

These references were given by Burn in his book on tokens. The district round Paul's Wharf was a great centre for the Yorkist party during the wars of the Roses, and 'the Old Inn' (on the site of which the later Baynard's Castle was built) belonged to more than one Duke of York—Sir John Paston stayed at the George by Pauls Wharf, and the mansion of the Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk was at Broken-wharf—probably many visits to

'the Mermaid' were made by Yorkists besides those of Sir John Howard, records of which have been by chance preserved.

The Pewterers' Company celebrated the release of Wm. Large in 1477-8. "Itm. spent atte Mairemaid in bred strete for a breakfast whan William large was fette out of the Counter."—It appears that the Master and wardens of the Company had been sent to the Compter by the Mayor—(Welch's History of the Pewterers Company)—In 1472 they record a payment "with the felawship att the Mermayd."

The same Company records a payment at ye Mairmead in 1461.

The Plumbers' Company records contain several payments at the Mermaid; the Old Hall was near Vintners' Hall, and it is worth remarking that many of their dinners were held in the taverns near the lower end of Bread Street, the Mitre, Mermaid, Dagger, and White Horse.

1632. 'Item paid at Mermaide Taverne at the Venison Supper $y^e$ bill $21^s$.' Item pd. for Mr. Milsops man at dynner $5^s$.

21 April 1643. 'Item paid ye residue of a bill at ye Mearemaid in Bread Streete being Court and quarter day"—$4^s$.

1643-4. Item paid for a dinner at ye Mairemayd—$13^s$ 9d.

1645. Paid part of a dinner at ye Mairmayde—$6^s$. $6^d$.

1648. Spent more at ye Mairemaid—$4^s$.[1]

The Innholders' Company in 1664, "paid at the Mermayde Taverne in Bred Street by the Master's Orders—11th October, $12^s$."

The Skinners' Company had a dinner at the Mermaid in 1535 (probably the tavern in Bread Street, which we shall see presently was long noted for its fish dinners):—

1535-6. "Item payed at the Marmayd upon Neweyres day for the Clothynge for Brede and Ale, Fresshe Saman, wyne, pippins and Byskettes." (Wadmore's History of the Skinners).

The 'Mermaid' in Bread Street was the only Mermaid tavern in the list of the forty taverns permitted to remain open in London at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign in

[1] Guildhall MS. 2210, vol. 1.

1553. In the seventh and last year of King Edward VI, and shortly before his death, his government ordered all taverns in London except forty to be closed. I have seen references to this list of 40 taverns but have never been able to discover it in print, but (with the kind asistance of Mr. Thomas, Clerk of the Records, Guildhall) found the list in the first year of Queen Mary, shortly after the young king's death, in the ' Liber Legum ' of the City of London, fo. 243. The order was actually the first recorded in Queen Mary's reign. As the list is of great interest and is little known, I will quote it in full:

" At this Courte it was ordeyned . . . by the Lord Maior . . . that all the Tavernes hereunder mencond . . . shalbe p'mited still to contynue and remayne and to be occupied as Tavernes accordinge to the forme and effect in everye pointe of thacte of parliament made A° Septimo Regis Edwardi Sexti."

Flete strete, The *Kings head,* The *horne,* the *Rose* at the bridge. Ludgate, *St. Johnes head*; Old fishstrete, The *Boreshead*; Fryday strete, The *White horse*; Bread strete, The *Maremaide*; Vynterye, The *iiij Tonnes,* The *iij Cranes,* The *Three Lyons* sometyme The *Empo's head*; New fish strete, The *Sonne,* The *Kings head,* the *Bell*; The *Boreshead* in Estchepe; Byllingesgate, *The Salutacon*; Tower strete, The *Salutacon*; Gracius strete, *St. Johnes head*; Aldgate, The *Bell*; Leadenhall, The *Greyhounde*; Bysshoppesgat, The *Kings heade*; Lumberd strete, The *Cardynalls hat,* The *Bisshopps heade,* The *Whyte horse.* Cheapseyde, The *Myter,* The *Bullheade,* The *Goat,* The *Egle,* The *horshead,* The *Starre*; Paternoster Rowe, *Peter and Paul*; St. Nicholas Shambles, The *Bulls-head* at St. Martynsgate, The *iii Tonnes,* The *Rose*; Without Newgate, The *Cardynalls hat,* the *Kyngs head*; Holborne, The *Greyhounde*; Creplegate, *The Sunne*; The signe of *St. Katheryne* in Mayden streete. The Guildhall, The *iii Tonnes.*

The *red Bull* in Thames strete, Stephen Twhaytes (Thwaytes).

The same list is given in Letter Book " R," fo. 268, b., August 1st, 1553. Most of these taverns continued to hold a leading position long after 1553, and retained the same signs—the ' Bishop's Head ' in Lombard Street was changed back to its old sign of the ' Pope's Head.' The exclusion of some noted taverns must have caused much

vexation at the time, notably in the case of the Swan in Old Fish Street, the Mitre in Bread Street and others. The names of the vintners (or taverners) are unfortunately not given. A later list shows that the Mermaid in Cheapside, the Mitre in Bread Street, and the Swan, Old Fish Street, had got into the coveted forty before 1564 (the date of the list). Many of the taverns mentioned were in the list of 1553, so perhaps a new occupier had to get his house re-elected. The petition runs:—

That it maye please yo$^{r}$ . . Worshipps to appoynt the persones hereafter named to be admytted of that nomber of fortye Taverners appoynted to be in London by Act of parl$^{t}$ made in the 7th yeare . . . of King Edward the 6th forasmuch as the houses wherein they dwell have heretofore been by Act of Co$^{n}$ Councell appoynted for the same purpose.

This list of 1564 is of great interest as it gives the names of the taverners or vintners at the various houses. Unfortunately it is the only list of the sort that I have found in the Guildhall Records, otherwise the task of drawing up a full history of these taverns would be easy enough. I will give the most interesting houses in the list:

In St. Nicholas Shambles and Newgate Market, George Crowther at the Bullhead, Anthonye Gregorye at the Rose; Cheapsyde, Wm. Gryffyn at the Maremaide, Arlington Kelly at the Whytehorse.[1] Thames Streete, Thomas Prowse at the Three Cranes, Richarde Saunderson at the Salutacon; Ludgate, Edwarde Betham at the Saynt John's head; Olde fish streete, Wm. Maude at the Bores head; Estcheape, Edwarde Hodshon at the Bores head; Paternoster Row, Henry Prannell at the Castell; Lumbard

[1] I think that these taverns (here named in *Cheapside*) are really the Mermaid in Bread street and the White Horse, Friday Street—Wm. Gryffyn is not mentioned in Cheapside parish registers and lived in St. Nicholas Olaves and St. Mildred's parish, and Arlington Kelly in St. Margaret Moses—Edward Betham kept the Boar's Head in Eastcheap before he moved to Ludgate.

There are no records of a Whitehorse Tavern in Cheapside, but the Friday Street house was well known. It was in St. Margaret Moses' parish, and in the registers there are burial entries of Arlington Kelly's daughter in 1565, and of his wife, Anne, in 1576. I give a full account of this tavern elsewhere (London and Middlesex Archæological Society Transactions, 1926-7.)

streete, Cuthbert Buckle at the Bishoppeshead; Dowgate, Nicholas Croswaite at the Swanne; Crooked Lane, Thomas Burye at the Swane; Oldefyss strete, Thomas Johnson at the Swanne; Breadstreet, Willm. Harrison at the Miter.

There must have been a considerable amount of wire-pulling to get into the coveted "forty," and one wonders whether the Act was strictly obeyed, and whether evasions were winked at by the City Authorities. The vintners were constantly in trouble during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.

A good deal of information about the Vintners in London during the 16th and 17th centuries has been obtained by the writer from the MS. Minutes of the Court of Common Council at the Guildhall, called "Repertories." In these records there is an annual list of twelve vintners who were appointed by the Company to search the London cellars for defective wines, and were divided into the west and east searches. Unfortunately the taverns they occupied are not named, but occasionally vintners at certain taverns were "presented" for having defective wines in their cellars. Some of the searchers were no doubt wholesale importers of wine, with private cellars. I have been able to identify the taverns kept by a good many of the persons named in the lists.

David Gyttons was an important vintner from the later part of Henry VIII's reign onwards, and frequently appears in the lists of searchers from 1535 to about 1568, and I think he was latterly at the Mermaid in Bread Street from the position of his name in a subsidy list of St. Mildred's Bread Street in 1564. Earlier he was in the parish of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, and we know from Machyn's Diary that he had a cellar in Anchor Lane, Thames Street, in 1557. In the Registers of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, the marriage is entered in 1539 of David Gittons and Alice Lott, and they had children baptised there between 1539-1545. In 1546, Nicholas Gittons the

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton for permission to examine these Registers.

sonne of Davy Gittons was buried.[1] In the subsidy list of St. Mildred Bread Street parish in 1564 (R.O. 145/220) the names run thus:—" Richard Packington 25li., Robert Wayman 20li., John Cattell 10li., William Garnet his widowe 3li., John Sutton 10li., Davy Gittons 15li."—his tax being 15 shillings—It will be seen in a subsidy list of 1597 that the name Packington occurs near Willm. Williamson who then occupied the Mermaid. There was no other tavern in St. Mildred's parish that such a leading vintner was likely to have occupied. His cellar in Anchor Lane (on the west side of Vintners' Hall) was not in St. Mildred's parish. The fact that his probable successor at the Mermaid had also a cellar "in the Vintry" suggests that this cellar near the Wharf may have been connected with the Mermaid Tavern, possibly from an early date. Henry Machyn records in his Diary in 1557: "The xxx day of July Master Dave Gyttons, master Meynard, and master Draper, and master Smyth, master Coldwelle, and master Asse and Gybes, and master Packyngton, and monser the Machyn de Henry, and many mo, ded ett alff a busshell of owsturs in Anckur lane at master Smyth and master Gyttons's seller a-pone hoghedes, and candyll lyght, and onyons and red alle and clarett alle, and muskadylle and malmsey alle, fre cope, at viij in the mornyng." This little orgy seems to have quite relaxed the gloomy funeral-furnisher—one cannot help wishing that a Teniers or a Hogarth had been present, to depict the company seated on the hogsheads of wine!

David Gyttons is mentioned several times in the "Register of Freemen"[1] as Warden of the Vintners' Company, the earliest year in which his name appears was 1525.

Richard Smyth is also in the Subsidy list of 1563-4, four names above Richard Packington, and is evidently the "Master Smyth" who shared Gitton's cellar. He is

[1] Ed. by Charles Welch for the Lond. and Middlesex Archæological Society.

mentioned in lists of searchers of the Vintners' Company, 1553-64, and may have owned the Mermaid, or shared it with David Gittons. See *Appendix* I, for further notes on Gittons.

William Gryffyn. The history of this vintner is somewhat puzzling, but two 'presentments' show that he had a cellar in the Vintry and also at the Mermaid in Bread street. He is first mentioned in 1564, in the list of applicants to have their taverns included in the "forty" permitted: "Cheapesyde, William Gryffyn at the Maremaide." Probably this should read the Mermaid in Bread Street. In 1568 he was one of the Searchers, and was also presented that year:—"Willm. Gryffyn vyntenr Item at the M'mayde in Bred strete. Gasc. 2 h. h." We must be thankful for those two hogsheads of defective Gascon wine which led to this entry. In 1570 he was a searcher, and in 1572 was again presented thus:—

"Bread street. Willm Gryffen at the Mearmade 1 h. h. not full."

"Vyntrye. Itm. more at Willm. Gryffens Cellor in ye Vintrie; ij h. h."[1]

In 1573 he appears twice in lists of searchers, and also as one of four vintners who were sureties for Stephen Scudamore, vintner.

In his will (Som. House, 33 Butts) he is described as vintner, of the parish of St. Nicholas Coldabby, 1583. The will is Nuncupative, and Mr. Monslowe asks him certain questions. He agrees that his wife, Agnes, shall be his executrix, and "further being putt in mynde by the saide Mr. Mounslowe of a game of swannes which he . . . then hadd, to whom Mris. Griffyn answered that he had given them before to Maister Fysher" (he was content that the latter should have them). In the 1596 list of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, John Mounslowe is next to widow Packington.

[1] Repertory 17, fo. 417.

William Williamson. This vintner probably succeeded Gryffyn at the Mermaid and kept the tavern during the most interesting period of its history, when Raleigh (according to Gifford) frequented the tavern, and Shakespeare may have been a visitor, and when Ben Jonson, Donne, Beaumont and Fletcher and other writers certainly went there, and formed the circle of " Noble Sirenaicks " mentioned by Tom Coryat. The references to the Mermaid by these writers will be given later on, but Donne will be dealt with under " the Mitre " in Breadstreet, close to which he was born. Curiously enough in the record of the lease of the Mermaid in the books of the Fishmongers' Company in 1594 (which was a renewal, for Williamson " continued his suit for a longer term "), the tenant is called " Edmond " Williamson, Vyntner. I hardly like to suggest that the Christian name in their record is wrong, and it is possible that the lease was granted to a relation of William Williamson, but I find no record at all of an *Edmond* in the lists of vintners, while William Williamson is frequently mentioned at that period, and also appears in the subsidy lists of St. Mildred's Bread street parish.[1] He was undoubtedly the vintner at the Mermaid from about 1588, or earlier, till 1610 or later. In 1629, William Meade requested the renewal of his lease, " as Mr. Williamsons." 1588. In this year Willym Willymson appears in a list of the searchers on the west side. Raphe Fitch, of the Bread Street Mitre, and John Pynder, of the Mitre in Cheap, appear in the same list (the houses are never mentioned in the lists, and have to be identified from other sources). William Williamson appears in lists of searchers 1589-1591. In 1596 he appears in two lists of searchers. In the next presentment he is given by the person who transcribed the list as William Wilkinson, but this was evidently a mistake for the abbreviated form " Willm̃son."

[1] Refer to later information from the Fishmongers' Company already given.

In 1598 he was presented for possessing a hogshead of defective wine, and as this particular list of presentments is a very unusually full one, and contains many famous old taverns, I will quote it in full, especially as I have never seen any published reference to it.[1]

"At the Kinges head Cripplegate, John Hunsden vintner; Cardynalls Hatt without Newgate, Nicholas Rushton; Sarazens head without Newgate, John Batemanson vintner; At the Dragon in Westm^r (Westminster), Cornelius Cates vintner; At the Rose without Temple Barr, John Muskett; at the Flying horse Fleet street, Henry Harvey vintner; at the Kings head Temple barr, John Gent vintner; Ramme Fleet street, Wm. Hart vintner; at the Horne fleet street, Henry Radcliff; Three Tonnes fleet street, Henry Berry; Greyhound Fleet street, Christopher Allinson; Greyhounde Blackfryers, John Woodborne, vintner; At the Miter on Bread street hill, John Horton, vinten; At the Mearemayd in Bread strete, Willm Wilkinson, vinten, 1. h. h. (this is evidently a mistake for the abbreviated form of Williamson); at the Swan at Dowgate, Richard Allinson vinten, 1 h. h.; At the Myter in Cheape, John Pinder vinten, 1 h. h.; at the Castle in paternoster Rowe, Willm. Bonham vinten; at the Rose Newgate market, Robert College vinten; Flying Horse Mayden lane, John Gibson, haberdasher."

This remarkably interesting list makes one wish that the famous taverns were more often presented! It shows that the great coaching inn of a later period, the Saracen's Head, Snow Hill, was then a tavern; and mentions the tavern which probably gave its name to Flying Horse Court, Fleet Street, by Sergeant's Inn; and the name of the Vintner, John Gent, who kept the famous "King's Head" Tavern on the east (not the west, as was often supposed) of Chancery lane end. John Gent and Henry Ratclyfe (Horn Tavern) appear in the lists of taverners in the St. Dunstan West Wardmote register from 1585 to 1607. In 1609 John Gent and widow Ratclyffe appear in the list. In 1585 John Gent of the Kings head was presented by the Wardmote Inquest "for a sartayn

[1] Rep. 24, fo. 360.

slewes or stynkynge water poured forth divers and sundry tymes and very lyck to continue to the great anoyance of all the inhabytants "—from what we read of the various nuisances condemned by the worthy Wardmotes we can readily agree that this one was very "lyck to continue."

The old Greyhound tavern was by St. Bride's church. It shows also that "the Ram," which gave its name to the Alley, was a tavern in 1598: William Harte is in the Wardmote lists of 1599, etc. Henry Radcliff's tavern, "the Horn," shared the honours with the King's Head as the two most famous taverns in Fleet street, and it is still represented by Anderton's Hotel. Machyn records in his Diary, Sept. 16th, 1557, that the Spanish Ambassadors (who wore "grett cheynes, and ther hats sett with stones and perlles") returning from Court, "by vij of the cloke (were again on) horse-bake, and so thrugh Fletstrett and at the Horne dronke, and at the Gray-honde, and so thrugh Chepe-syde and so over the bryge, and so rod all nyght towards Dover." This reminds us that London Bridge was then the only bridge in London. The next tavern in the list, "the Greyhound" at Blackfriars, was evidently noted as a convenient place for doubtful assignations. I will quote one reference from Dekker and Webster's Westward Hoe," 1607, Act II, Sc. 3. Sir Gosling, Whirlpool, Linstock, and Justiniano (disguised) are at the Steelyard with the three citizens' wives: *Just.* "Where will you meet i' th' morning?" *Sir Gos.* "At some tavern near the water-side that's private." *Just.* "The Greyhound, the Greyhound in Blackfriars, an excellent rendezvous." *Lin.* "Content, the Greyhound by eight." It is interesting to remember that John Woodborne of our list was probably the vintner in Dekker's time. The Swan at Dowgate was a well-known tavern, and was visited by Pepys. The Castle in Paternoster Row is mentioned in Tarlton's jests, and he is generally said to have kept it at one time; this tavern, with the Rose

and Three Tuns by Newgate Market were all important houses; the Rose is commemorated by Rose street to-day.

So much for this digression from "the Mermaid" and Mr. Williamson, but the list of interesting houses seemed to justify a few short notes concerning them.

In 1599-1600, John Pynder and Willyam Willmson were two of the four vintners elected Governors of Bridewell. 1605-6, Wm. Williamson appears first in the list of twelve vintners, searchers, and was probably warden or Master of the Company, and in a list of 1606 is named as Warden. In 1610-11, he was again one of the Governors of Bridewell, and William Hobson (Mitre Fenchurch street) and Andrew Goodyeare (Mermaid at Aldersgate) are also amongst the six Vintner Governors. He also appears in a list of searchers in this year. This is of great interest for it shows that he was still alive at the period w en the Mermaid has such a fascination for us, when Coryat mentions the Friday gatherings at the famous tavern, and it is possible that he took part in the meetings. William Johnson may have been associated with him at the tavern after 1603, and probably succeeded him. William Mead, who succeeded about 1624, is fully dealt with later on.

Cunningham (quoting Hunter on Shakespeare) gives this note:—"In a schedule annexed to the will of Albian Butler, in 1603, Mr. Johnson, vintner at the Mermaid in Bread Street, is mentioned as a creditor for 17s." He may have been associated with Williamson at the Mermaid perhaps as an assistant, but I do not find his name in the lists of searchers of the Vintners' Company. A William Johnson was, however, near William Williamson in a subsidy list of St. Mildred's parish. I will now give extracts from some of those lists, reminding the reader that a Packington was near Davy Gyttons in 1564, and that the Fishmongers' leases showed that Robert Sheppard's house adjoined the Mermaid.

Bread Street Ward, St. Mildred's parish, 1597,[1] the names run thus:—

"William Williamson 30 li.; Thos. Boxe 10 li., Thos. Platt 3 li., Robt. Sheppard 3 li., Wm. Whitwell 3 li., Wid. Packington and Henry Packington her sonne 12 li.," and the same names occur in a list of 1598. 1610, list of St. Mildred's parish, Wm. Williamson 15 li (tax 3 li.). Robert Payne 25 li., William Johnson 10 li. 1619-20. St. Mildred parish.[2] Thomas Platt, Robert Butcher, Willm. Johnson, Robt. Sheppearde.

This shows I think that William Johnson took over the remainder of Williamson's lease, but William Meade, in 1629, asked that his lease should be renewed "as Mr. Williamsons." I regret that the gradual accumulation of a mass of detail from various sources makes it so difficult to give a straightforward account, but new discoveries continually alter the searcher's knowledge of men and houses, and I can but crave the reader's forbearance. At Somerset House I have found two wills, of which I here give brief extracts:—1597. Christopher Newbold, servant unto Mr. Willm. Willmson. of the p'ishe of St. Mildredes in Bred streete makes bequests to his brother and sister. "I give to my M^r. fortie shillings to make hym a Ringe. Item to my Mris. Twentie shilling to make her a Ringe." Witnesses. Willm. Williamson and George Staynred. (30 Cobham). William Williamson, citizen and vintner, St. Mildred's Bread Street, will dated 16 June, 1613. Divides his property into three parts according to the custom of the Cittie of London. Appoints his wife Anne sole executrix. Witnesses. Nicholas Bradshaw, Emmanuel Utis, Stephen Woodforde, Thomas Hawks, Wm. Johnson.[3] It is interesting to bear in mind that these individuals, even if they did not take any part in the great Friday evenings with Ben Jonson, Beaumont, and the

[1] Rec. office, 146/390.
[2] Rec. office, 147/483.
[3] Capell, 72.

rest, doubtless knew them well, at anyrate by sight. It will be seen, in the account of the Mitre in Cheap, that John Pinder there was related to Mrs. Anne Williamson.

It is curious that in the 1553 list of taverns the only 'Mermaid' is the one in Bread Street, while in the Elizabethan black-letter list of fifteen taverns the Mermaid in Cornhill is the only one mentioned. No doubt the reputation of taverns varied greatly with the popularity and ability of successive owners.

William Meade (the vintner in the leases of the Mermaid from the Fishmongers' Company) is mentioned in the parish registers of St. Margaret Moses Church, which show that he kept "the White Horse Tavern" in Friday Street from 1618-1621. The White Horse was almost opposite the Friday Street entrance of the Mermaid. In 1631 "Fuller Meade, brother to Mr. William Meade, vintner, keeper of the Maremayd," was buried. His first name, Fuller, suggests that the Meades were related to Richard Fuller, to whom William Meade mortgaged his lease of the Mermaid. In a subsidy list of 17 Jac. I, 1619-20, Wm. Meade is assessed at £3 in the parish of St. Margaret Moses, but in a list of 1625 he is assessed at £4, in St. Mildred's Bread Street parish.

The names run thus:—Thomas Platt, John Graygoose, Robt. Bucher, William Meade (£4), Wm. Williamson (£5, the son of the old vintner), John Boxe:—Wm. Meade has taken Johnson's place in the 1619 list.

After Wm. Meade's time until the Fire, the tavern was leased to Richard Fuller, not a vintner himself, and who doubtless sublet the tavern to the issuers of the tokens, 'T.D.,' and 'I.C.' This is unfortunate for otherwise we should have obtained their names from the leases.

The following extracts from the State Papers show the trouble caused to William Mead by the vexatious Ordinance of Charles I. in 1633, which forbade the sale of meat by vintners. These printed volumes are readily

accessible and well indexed, and deserve to be more widely appreciated.

1633. (In a return of taverns and vintners in Bread Street ward): St. Mildred's Parish, Wm. Meade, vintner at the sign of the Mermaid in Bread Street, being free of the Company of Vintners.

In 1634 we find the petition of William Mead, vintner, to the King:—

Mermaid in Bread Street, near Old Fish Street. . ." Petitioner's house has ever been frequented by strangers of all nations, and by subjects of the best quality and well affected, who conform themselves to the laws made for eating fish upon days appointed. . . By the late order prohibiting taverns in London to dress or vent meat, the petitioner is deprived of his best way of subsistence, having applied himself and bred up many servants only for the dressing of fish. As a toleration has been granted to two vintners to dress and vent fish, pet^r prays that he may have a similar toleration for dressing and venting fish."[1]

(47). This is another petition of Wm. Mead. . . " His house has always been used for dressing and eating fish, for accommodating whereof he has disbursed his whole estate . . . Prays for leave to dress fish only this Lent for his guests."

Probably the Mermaid had been noted for its fish dinners for centuries—its situation by Old Fish Street was specially convenient for this purpose, and it was close to the Stairs on the Thames, and also, in earlier times, to important mansions in Thames Street. So far as the dramatists and actors were concerned, it was quite near the Blackfriars Theatre.

In the 1638 Tithes list of St. Mildred's parish (Lambeth MS. 272) Mr. Meade appears—no Christian names are given—the names run thus:—Mr. Steyres [assessed on a rent of £13], Mr. Boxe, £11, Mr. Nicholas his house, £20, Mr. Meade, £15, Mr. Gilbert £8, Mr. Fell his Taverne £40. [Presumably Mead was still at the Mermaid, though it is *possible* that Fell's tavern was the famous house]. Mr. Butcher's name is close to Mr. Fell, and (18 names further

[1] State Papers Domestic Series—Charles I., vol. 7—(46).

on) is "Mr. Petty his Taverne." This was John Pettit, vintner, who kept the White Hart tavern on the east side of Bread street, north of the Basing Lane corner. The churchwardens of St. Mildred's record payments to him for wine, 1648-1655, in which year he was buried.

The Star Chamber Ordinance of 1633, concerning the Vintners, is given by Maitland:—

"Considering the exorbitant prices demanded by vintners for dressing and selling Provisions, it was decreed that for the future no vintner shall sell any thing but Bread and Wine; nor shall permit any Flesh, or other sorts of Provisions, to be brought into his house, to be there eaten by any of his Guests."[1]

I have come across several references in the old records of the City of London showing that in Elizabeth's time *fourpence* was the sum allowed the vintners for dressing fish, etc., in Lent according to ancient custom; with the great reduction in the purchasing value of the old silver penny the payment doubtless became inadequate. We can readily understand that this regulation would quickly ruin the custom of such a house as 'the Mermaid'; and it probably accounted for the mortgage of the lease to Richard Fuller.

*Tokens*: *O.* Ye Mermayd Tavern—(a Mermaid) ¼.
*R.* In Bread Street. 57—T.M.D.
*O.* At the Mermayd Tavern—(a Mermaid) ½.
*R* In Bread Street, 1665—I.S.C.

I have been unable to identify the issuers with certainty. Thomas Darling was a vintner who was a searcher for the Vintners' Company, 1647-1659, in which year he was Warden of the Company. He issued a token in 1657, at the Three Tuns near Charing Cross, and may possibly have been the T.D. of the first token. I have found, however, that he was at the Three Tuns in 1641 (Vintners' poll list). Thomas Dodsworth appears in the searchers' lists of the Vintners' Company in 1658, and is also a

[1] Maitland, 1756, I., p. 302.

possible issuer. We can exclude Thomas Dyose and Thomas Dudley, who were at other taverns.

Thomas Dodsworth's will in 1662 was witnessed by Edward Pike, servant to Alexander Colston, scrivener, inhabiting on Bread Street Hill.

I. C. of the second token was probably John Chittey. He appears in a list of searchers of the Vintners' Company in 1663, and I find his name in the parish of St. Mildred Bread Street at the time of the Fire. The old registers of St. Mildred's were unfortunately destroyed, so we are deprived of that valuable source of information. In the short and very business-like Churchwardens' accounts there is an entry in 1663:—

"Paid for fuelling for Bishop Worth during his Preaching with us. Paid for wine for him as per Mr. Chitty's acquittance 25s. 6d.;" and in 1664 Mr. John Chitty paid a fine to avoid serving the office of constable a second year. The only other possible issuers were John Cocke, who was in St. Mildred's parish in 1666-7, and John Crisp, 1663, "Spent in wine at the meeting with Sir Nicholas Crispe and Mr. Crisp, 4s." 1664. Recd. of Mr. John Crisp for omitting him in the nomination to Scavinger, Constable and Questman, not to be required . . . in case he be compelled to serve, £15."

Joseph Crisp's wife was called Sibella, whose name agrees with the initial "S." on the token—in 1679, Sibella wife of Capt. Joseph Crisp was buried in St. Mildred's—but I have no evidence that he was a vintner, and believe that John Chittey was probably the issuer.

Ben Jonson only once specifies the street of the Mermaid:—in his 133rd Epigram, he says, of the two voyagers:

> "At Bread Street's Mermaid having dined, and merry,
> Proposed to go to Holborn in a wherry."

This trip sounds fantastic to-day, but was then possible from the Thames by the Fleet River. It was, however, by his description, extremely disagreeable to the olfactory organ!

The chief evidence of the great nights at ' the Mermaid ' is given in the often-quoted lines by Beaumont to Ben Jonson: (" written before he and Master Fletcher came to London with two of the precedent Comedies, then not finished, which deferred their merry meetings at the Marmaid.")—

> " What things have we seen,
> Done at the Mermaid ! heard words that have been
> So nimble, and so full of subtile flame,
> As if that every one from whence they came
> Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest . . ."

That delightful old writer, Thomas Fuller, is often quoted in connection with the wit-contests between Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, but he was only a boy when Shakespeare died. He does not however, pretend to have heard them himself, but says:—

" Many were the Wit-combates betwixt him and Ben Jonson; which two I behold like a Spanish great Gallion and an English man of war; Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in Learning, solid but slow in his performance. Shakespeare with the English Man of War, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing."

This was presumably founded on some tradition, but in any case there is nothing to connect it necessarily with 'the Mermaid.'

Ben Jonson wrote (Epigram 101):—

> " But that which most doth take my Muse and me,
> Is a pure cup of rich Canary wine,
> Which is the Mermaid's now, but shall be mine."

This, either by carelessness or a hoax has been sometimes attributed to Shakespeare, Mitre being substituted for Mermaid in the text (see ' the Mitre ' in Fleet Street).

Beaumont, as a true ' son of Ben,' believed with him that beer was only fit for dullards, but that sack inspired the higher flights of fancy; so he wrote, in the same Epistle to Jonson:—

" In this warm shine
I lie and dream of your full Mermaid wine,
Oh, we have water mix'd with claret lees,
Drink apt to bring in drier heresies
Than beer, good only for the sonnet's strain,
With fustian metaphors to stuff the brain . . . ."

Here we recognise Ben Jonson's contempt for the sonnet as a form for poetical expression in our language, which is worthy of better things than to be thus 'cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in." This reminds me of Ben's curse against the inventor of *rhyme*, in Underwoods, xlviii.'

" He that first invented thee
May his joints tormented be,
Cramped for ever;
Still may syllabes jar with time,
Still may reason war with rhyme,
Resting never."

Thomas Coryat, that remarkable traveller who was content to be regarded as a sort of buffoon, really supplies us with the most definite of all the evidence concerning the gatherings at the Mermaid. Fuller, in his quaint way, thus describes him:—

" He carried folly (which the charitable called merriment) in his very face . . . Prince Henry allowed him a pension, and kept him for his servant. Sweet-meats and Coriat made up the last course at all Court entertainments. Indeed he was the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammers as hard knocks as it received, his bluntness repaying their abusiveness."

Prince Henry died in 1612, and Tom Coryat, who had already travelled to Venice and back,* then started on his last and most remarkable journey, taking ship in 1612 to Constantinople, whence he journeyed by land to India, where he died of dysentery (brought on by the festivities provided for him by the English traders at Surat) in 1616. The following extracts are taken from the copy in the

* In 1608 he *walked* the greater part of his journey home.

Guildhall Library, 1616, of his letters from India, and are such as concern the 'Sirenical' gentlemen of 'the Mermaid' in Bread Street. Coryat lived in Bow Lane, which was not far from the famous tavern.

p. 31—From the Court of the Great Mogul. . . 1615.

"Pray commend me to Mr. Protoplast, and all the Sireniacall gentlemen, to whom I wrote one Letter from Aleppo, after my being at Jerusalem and another I intend to write before my going out to Asia." He goes on to say that he "spent in ten months travel between Aleppo and the Mogul's Court but three pounds sterling . . . yet of that three pound I was cousened of no less than ten shillings sterling by certaine lewde Christians of the Armenian nation; so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my ten moneths travailes."

p. 37. "To the High Seneschall of the Right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sirenical Gentlemen that meet the first Fridaie of every Moneth, at the signe of the Mere-Maide in Bread-streete in London, give these: From the Court of the great Mogul, resident at the Towne of Asmere, in the Easterne India." Further on he addresses the "Right Generous, Joviall and Mercuriall Sirenaicks" and alludes to "the pleasant wit of that inimitable artizan of sweet elegancy, the moytie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the noblest society, M.L.W." Who was L.W.? I cannot fit the initials to any of the wits who are likely to have frequented the Mermaid about 1612, and can only conjecture that he may possibly have been the vintner, William Williamson, "L" standing for some nickname such as "Lord"; remembering that Ben Jonson called Symon Wadlow (the vintner at the Devil) "Duke" Wadlow.

p. 41. Honest Tom recommends the bearer of his letter who "in divers loving offices hath bene so kind unto me, that I intreat your generosities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exhilarate him with the purest quintessence of the *Spanish, French* and *Rhenish* Grape which the Mermaid yeeldeth . . . Farewell noble Sirenaicks." Thomas Coryate.

On p. 43. "Pray remember the recommendations of my dutifull respect to al those whose names I have here expressed, being the lovers of vertue and literature . . . written at the court of the Great Mogul Shaugh Selim, resident in the Town of Asmere in the Umbilicke of the orientall India . . . . 8 Nov. 1615." Amongst the names are No. 5. "Item to M. John Donne."

No. 11. "Item to Maister Benjamin Johnson the Poet at his Chamber at the Black Friars." So much for this remarkable man, who was certainly no fool. To his book, called Coryat's Crudities, he had (about 1610), obtained commendatory verses from Ben Jonson, John Donne, and many others, which helped largely to sell the book. In the book of Indian letters, 1616, he calls himself "Traviller for the English Wits—Greeting."

It is interesting to note that Blount's Dictionary, 1661, after 'Sirens' (where he refers to 'Mermaides') gives "Sirenical, pertaining to Sirens, attractive." Blount says of *Protoplast*—"first formed or made; an Attribute or Epithete most properly for *Adam*." I suspect that Tom Coryat's 'Mr. Protoplast' was called Adam (knowing the fondness of the wits of the period for such far-fetched conceits) and that he was perhaps Adam Coppinger, who kept the 'Star Tavern' in Cheapside in 1608, and who may have been a member of the Sirenical Friday night parties at the Mermaid.

Before leaving the Bread Street Mermaid, I will give a few more references from the old plays.

Jonson, in The Devil is An Ass (Act III, Sc. 1) makes Meercroft say:—

> "And your eating
> Pheasant and godwit here in London, haunting
> The Globes and Mermaids, wedging in with lords
> Still at the table."

Gifford, in a note, says that this was the Mermaid Tavern in Cornhill, but gives no reason for this opinion. It is much more likely that the Bread Street and Billingsgate Mermaids were referred to.

Beaumont and Fletcher, in their amusing Comedy, "Wit without Money," (Act II, Sc. 4), make Valentine say:—

> "Cosmography
> Thou'rt deeply read in; draw me a map from the Mermaid
> I mean a midnight map, to 'scape the watches,
> And such long senseless examinations . . ."

which was probably "reminiscent" of trouble, and perhaps of visits to the Counter! Later, in the same scene:

*Val.* "Meet me at the Mermaid,
And thou shalt see what things.
*Lance.* Trust to yourself, Sir."

Ben Jonson also refers to the Mermaid in 'Bartholomew Fair,' in a passage which is often quoted, but the sly jest against his own company of tavern wits is rather spoilt without the context. Littlewit, the proctor, is speaking to his wife, Win.:—

"I do feel conceits coming upon me, more than I am able to turn tongue to. A pox o' these pretenders to wit. Your Three Cranes, Mitre and Mermaid-men."

The last part of this is sometimes quoted as an *attack* by Ben on the Mitre and Mermaid men! The jest, of course, is that the dull proctor considers himself their superior in wit; but our greatest satirist seems doomed to neglect or misunderstanding. I have already pointed out the old importance of the river as the great highway, and it is probable that the three taverns thus named together were all near the Stairs. Beaumont and Fletcher lived in Southwark, and doubtless generally came across to Queenhithe or Three Cranes on their way to the Mermaid.

We have unfortunately no record of the names of the different rooms in the Mermaid Tavern, but it is quite possible that Beaumont and Fletcher, in the tavern Scene in "The Captain," Act IV, Sc. 2, acted in 1613, give us some of the names. Though many of their plays were placed in foreign parts, the authors really described London scenes, and in any case this scene gives a lively picture of the busy servants in a tavern at that period.

SCENE 2. A Room in the Tavern. *Enter Tavern Boys, etc.*
*Boy*: "Score a gallon of sack, and a pint of Olives, to the Unicorn."
*Above within*: "Why, drawer."
*Boy*: Anon! Anon!

*Another Boy*: "Look into the Nags-head there.
2 *Boy*: "Score a quart of claret to the Bar. And a pound of sausages into the Flower-pot."
*Enter First Servant, with Wine.*
1 *Serv*: "The devil's in their throats, Anon, Anon!"
*Enter Second Servant.*
2 *Serv*: Mull a pint
of sack there for the women in the Flower-de-luce,
And put in ginger enough; they belch like pot-guns;
And, Robin, fetch tobacco for the Peacock."

A room called the Tiger is also mentioned.

The following references to the Mermaid are from MS. Churchwardens' Accounts:

In 1641 there is this entry in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Dunstan West:—"Itm. Spt at the Maremaide in Bread Strete after the paying into ye Chamber of London parte of the Loane Money for the releife of Ireland"—and dinners at the Mermaid are recorded in 1608 and 1613, which were probably at the same house. The Mermaid was probably visited on their way to or from the Stairs.

1653. The Churchwardens of the neighbouring Church of St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey "spent att the Maremaid about Wm. Andrewes, Mr. Jones vintner his aprentice—0. 1s. 0d."

In the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter's, Westcheap, I find these entries:—1595-6. 20 Feb. Item at the Meare mayd in bredstrett [the names of the parson and others follow] and divers other p'ishoners 01. 19. 02. 1599-1600. "Item paid the same daye for the p'ishoners Dinner at the Mermayde 1li. 11s. 8d." 1603. "Imprimis payd for a diner in bred strett" 8s. 1612-13. "Imprimis paid for the prosession Dynner at the Maremaide in Bred Streete the some of 1li. 12s. 0d."

On the houses, Nos. 29 and 30, on the west side of Bread Street, the Fishmongers' Arms can be seen to-day, and also in Friday Street on Nos. 37 and 38, near the lower end of the street on the east side, and, to conclude, I feel

sure that this site represents that of the old 'Mermaid Tavern' in Bread Street.

The Mermaid in Cheapside will be dealt with next, as these two houses have been confused together so long.

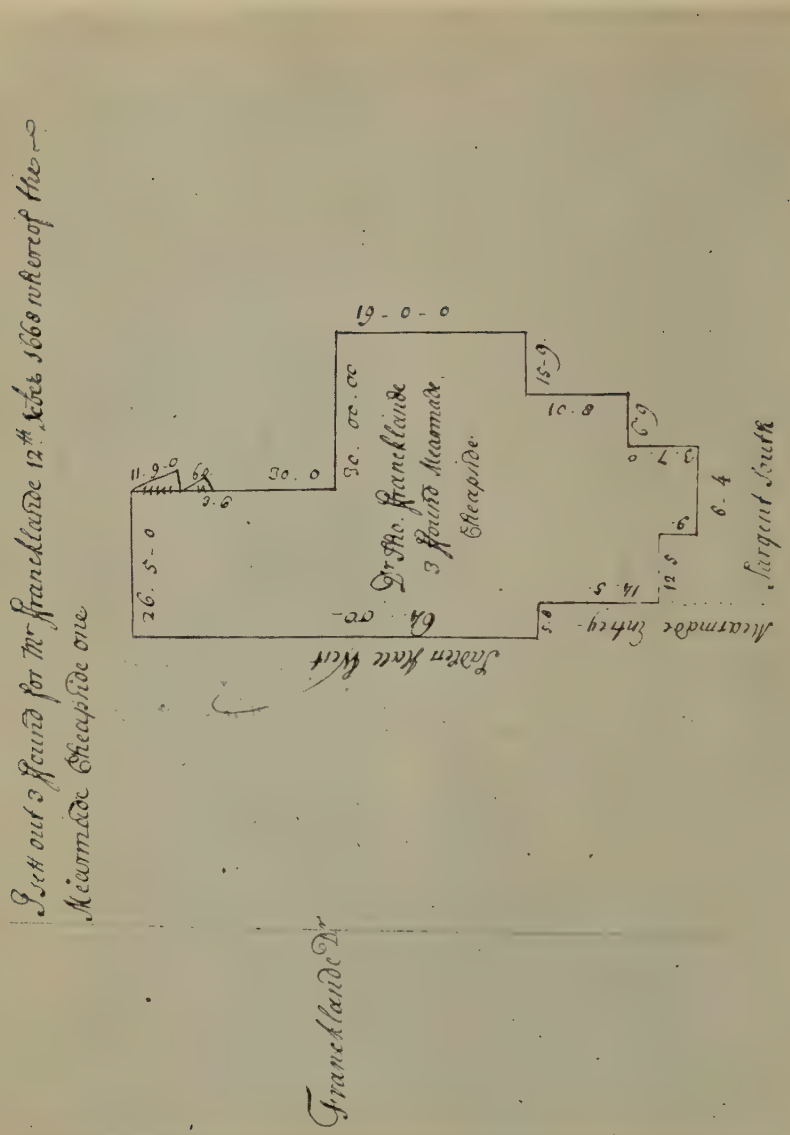
## THE MERMAID IN CHEAPSIDE.

This tavern stood close to Saddlers' Hall, near Foster Lane.

The token issued by W.R., "At the Mermaid, 'Twixt Milk Street, Wood Street," has been already mentioned, and also the use to which it was put by Burn to prove that the Bread Street and Cheapside Mermaids were the same house, near the upper end of Bread Street. I mention it again here, because in Mills and Oliver's Survey after the Fire, I find a site marked out for Mr. William Ram, on the east side of "the Mermaid entry," which is elsewhere called "Mermaid Alley." This entry was close to Saddlers Hall, but obviously the Mermaid of his token stood further east. I find, in the Day Book of payments for sites after the Fire, that William Ram paid for two sites in Cheapside, and I think that he probably issued the "W.R." token. I find no other individual paying for sites in Cheapside whose initials agree with the token.

The plan of Wm. Ram's site, May 28, 1668, shows "Mermaid Entry' adjoining it on the west, and a note says 'the entry between the walls 4 to 5 feet.' Another plan shows Mermaid Entry, between Ram's site on the east and Mr. Churche's on the west. Another plan for "Mr. Will. Ram in Mearmaide Court" (Vol. III, f. 103), shows Mearmade Aley west, and Dr. Frankland north.

From the plans in the Survey I have pieced together some half-dozen sites near Saddlers' Hall—unfortunately there is not one of the Mermaid alone. Mr. John Adam's site had Sadlers Hall on the north, and Mr. Ram west. Mr. Wesley's site in Priest Court had "Sadlers Hall and Mermaid south."




THE MERMAID TAVERN, CHEAPSIDE.

Plan from Mills and Oliver's Survey showing that the Cheapside Mermaid adjoined Saddler's Hall on the East.

*To face page* 37.

In Vol. 3, f. 104 (Guildhall Library) there is this entry:—

"I sett out 3 foundations for Mr. Francklande 12 Oct. 1668, whereof the Mearmade Cheapside one."[1]

Dr. Frankland (or Franklin) had also two foundations in Gutter lane, and evidently rebuilt the Saddlers Company's houses near the Hall.

The Mermaid Tavern with a long narrow entry from Cheapside, evidently adjoined Saddlers' Hall, on the east thereof. This position, of the tavern and the entrance passage, coincides with that of the Half Moon Tavern and Alley after the Fire, and I feel certain that this was a later sign for the Mermaid.

Mr. Sherwell, in his account of the Saddlers' Company says:—

"The Mermaid stood on the same side of the street as, and close to, Saddlers' Hall; the earliest mention of it in the Company's books is on 14 Feb., 1614."—'This daie likewise Richd. Harrison is fyned in 10s. for fetching of wyne the last quarter daie at the Mermayd in West Chepe intymated to fetch it elsewhere by reason of an offence committed by the New Tenant upon the Lord Mayor's daie last.'

On May 27, 1628. "At this Court Thomas Clowes desired to have his lease of the Mearemayd Tavern made equal with the term he hath in the house sometyme graunted to Mr. Fleet, out of which he hath taken three rooms to add unto the Taverne."

He adds: "The tavern was destroyed in the great Fire, but the Company's tenant at the time refused to rebuild it, notwithstanding that they offered him an extended lease . . . . All the property owned by the Saddlers' Company in Cheapside was situated on the north side of the street, between Foster Lane and Gutter Lane, and has been retained by them to the present day."

At a meeting of the Saddlers' Company soon after the destruction of their Hall and other property in the Fire, the Court ordered that the lead and iron which could be recovered from the ruins should be stored in the vault "lately of the Mermaid Tavern," and that the opening into the vault should then be closed up again.

[1] See plan.

Mr. Sherwell (who was Clerk to the Company about 1889) states that

"in 1863 the Cheapside entrance to Saddlers' Hall was moved some 30 feet eastward from No. 143, to No. 141 Cheapside . . . In 1884 Half Moon Passage, a parallel Court leading from 140 Cheapside into a yard at the side of the Hall, and belonging to the Company, was covered in by new buildings. . . In 1817 the Court seriously considered the question of letting the Hall and adapting the premises of the London Tavern which appears to have adjoined, and the lease of which had nearly fallen in."

The London Tavern was a later name for the Half Moon Tavern.

Strype, 1720, shows Half Moon Passage close to Saddlers' Hall on the East, and running North to Priests' Court, Foster Lane.

Horwood's Map, 1795, marks Sadlers' Hall entry on the west of No. 143 Cheapside, and the Half Moon passage (though not named), on the east of No. 141—which corresponds with Mr. Sherwell's location of Half Moon Court at No. 140. As Sadlers' Hall entry was moved two doors east, to No. 141, the present "Mecca Café," which adjoins Saddlers' Hall entry on the east, is on the site of the entry to 'the Half Moon,' and before that to 'the Mermaid Tavern.'

Burn gives some interesting notes about the Half-Moon Tavern, under the token of Edward Attwood at that sign in Cheapside—(but I shall show presently that this token was not issued at the Tavern).

"The Half-moon tavern was on the north side of Cheapside, abutting westward on Gutter lane . . . After the Fire it was rebuilt, retaining the appellation of the Half-Moon tavern. Elias Ashmole, in his Diary, March 11th, 1682, notices his presiding at the Half-moon tavern, in Cheapside, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of some newly accepted masons . . . . . During a long series of years the Half-moon tavern maintained a distinguished notoriety and is recorded as the scene of many public city events. As the property of the Saddlers' Company it was leased by them to taverners till 1817, when Mr. Butler,

chemist, becme lessee of the premises, "heretofore the Half-Moon tavern but lately known as the New London Tavern." A fire destroyed the whole in February 1821, when the house now 140 Cheapside was rebuilt on the site."

This is, I think, not quite accurate, for the Half Moon Tavern itself stood a long way back from Cheapside, and Maitland's Map, 1756, shows it close to the east of St, Vedast's Church. Maitland says:—"Half Moon Ailey, but small; at the upper end of which is a Tavern, which gives a passage into Foster Lane, and another into Gutter-lane." Hatton, 1708, says that part of the Half Moon Tavern was in the parish of St. Leonard's, Foster Lane. I have no doubt this was also the position of 'the Mermaid' before the Fire. The mark of the Saddlers Company is seen on Nos. 44 and 44A, Gutter Lane, which probably represent the back entrance to the Half Moon and Mermaid Taverns. One can only suppose that the authority of Burn, and the remarkable assurance with which he made his statements, prevented later writers from recognising 'the Mermaid' by Saddlers' Hall as 'the Mermaid in Cheapside.'.

The tokens of the Mermaid.

*Tokens*: *O*. The Mearmad Tavern—(a Mermaid).
*R*. In Cheapsyde, 1651—R.M.M.
*O*. At ye Mearemayd—(a Mermaid).
*R*. Tavern, Cheapside—I.T.M.

I have, so far, been unable to identify the names of the issuers—a Ralph Moore was admitted to the Vintners' Company in 1638, and is mentioned up to 1656, and a Joseph Moore was admitted in 1659. The Saddlers' Company is unfortunately unable to supply the names of their tenants at that time (as I am informed by the Clerk to the Company), and I think the most probable issuer of the 1651 token was Richard Marsh, vintner, who is mentioned in the Registers of St. Vedast; in 1649 he had a son baptised there, and in 1650 two servants to Mr.

Richard Marsh, vintner, were buried, and I think therefore that he issued the Mermaid token, with initials R.M., in 1651. John Mouse (or Mosse), free of the Vintners, was buried at St. Vedast in 1661. In 1651-3, John Mosse was one of the searchers of the Vintners, and I think he probably issued the second token with initials I.M.

There are two references to Mermaid Court in the St. Vedast registers:—

1626. "Michael ye father not knowen born in Mermaid Yeard" (baptised).

1640. "Arthur Canton dwelling in Mermaide Court was buried Jan. 26."

Before dealing with the Half-Moon Tokens I will give the scanty references which I have found to "the Mermaid" in Cheap. As already mentioned, in the list of applicants to be included in the forty licensed taverns in 1564, we find: "Cheapsyde, Wm. Gryffyn at the Maremaide." I have already stated, however, that this was probably the Mermaid in Bread Street.

In Elizabeth's reign (1591), a religious fanatic named William Hacket gave out that he was Jesus Christ, come to judge the world—the poor wretch would now probably be recognised as insane, but he made quite a stir, and a gentleman named Edmond Coppinger, with several others, became fervent disciples. These men came from Hacket's lodging at Broken Wharf, thro' Watling Street and the Old Change, amidst an excessive multitude, to Cheapside.

"After they had both thus come (with a mighty concourse of the common multitude) with an uniforme cry into Cheape nere unto the Crosse, and there finding the throng and prease of the people to encrease about them . . . . therefore they gotte them up unto an emptie Cart which stood there . . . . . and whereas they had purposed to have gone with the like Cry, or Proclamation, through the other chiefe parts of the Citie, but the prease was so great as that they were forced to goe into a Taverne in Cheape, at the signe of the Mermayd . . . . this strange accident being quickly blown through the City, all was in a Buzze." [1]

[1] Edmond Howes, continuation of Stow's Annales, 1631—p. 761.

This confirms the position of the Tavern near Gutter-Lane end. Hacket was executed in Cheapside, and Coppinger starved himself to death in Bridewell.

State Papers, Commonwealth, 1650, June 31, "Sergt. Dendy to go to the Mermaid in Cheapside and apprehend Rich[d] Andrewes, lately come from Holland and bring him before the Council to answer about some papers found upon him when landing at Gravesend." This gives us a little picture of the troubled times.

The position of "Mermaid Yard" is marked in John Leake's Map of 1666 showing the area destroyed by the Fire. Mermaid Yard is shown east of St Foster's (Vedast) church, and connected with Priest Court leading to Foster Lane on the west, and Gutter Lane on the East. The passage from Cheapside is not shown on the map, which is a mere skeleton outline of the streets, but this supplies further confirmatory evidence of the position of the Mermaid.

The only Cheapside taverns mentioned in the Elizabethan list were:—

> "The Mitre in Cheap and the Bull-head,
> And many like places that make noses red."

and we may fairly assume that 'the Mermaid' by Saddlers' Hall played its part in so decorating the Bardolphs of the district. In 'Henry the Fourth,' (Part I, Act II, Sc. 3). Falstaff addresses Bardolph on the subject:—

"O, thou art a perpetuall Triumph, an everlasting Bone-fire-Light; thou hast saved me a thousand Markes in linkes and Torches, walking with thee in the Night betwixt Taverne and Taverne; But the Sack that thou hast drunke me, would have bought me Lights as good cheape, as the dearest Chandlers in Europe. I have maintaind that Salamander of yours with fire, any time this two and thirtie yeers, Heaven reward me for it."

There is no evidence, so far as I know, that the dramatists ever visited the Cheapside Mermaid:—the Bread street tavern was much more convenient for the Stairs, and was also near Blackfriars. On the other hand it is highly

probable that this tavern, close to Saddlers' Hall, and also near Goldsmiths' Hall, had many solid and influential supporters (or "props," as the author of the 'Vademecum for Maltworms' calls them). On procession days and other great occasions it was well situated for custom, and any windows overlooking West Cheap would have been crowded with onlookers. On these occasions Cheapside, which was on the great route of the processions, was profusely decorated, and tapestries and flags were hung from the windows.

The Coronation procession of Queen Anne Boleyn in 1533, was the occasion for a great display. The Lord Mayor, "in a Gown of crimson velvet and a rich collar of SS," went to receive the Queen at the Tower . . . "the Great Conduit, opposite Mercers-Hall in Cheapside, which on that Occasion, was beautifully painted with a Variety of curious Emblems, and which, during the Solemnity, and remaining Part of the Day, ran with a Diversity of Wines, for the Entertainment of the Populace."

At the end of Wood-street, "the Standard there was finely embellished with royal Portraitures, encompassed by a number of Flags . . . and above was a fine Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick." Passing the Cross, at the end of Gutter-lane, the Procession proceeded to the Aldermens Station, near the little Conduit at the upper end of Cheapside, where John Baker the Recorder, made 'a very elegant Oration,' and presented the Queen 'with a thousand Marks in a Purse of Golden Tissue.' At the little Conduit, "in a rich Pageant, were seated the Goddesses Pallas, Juno and Venus, before whom stood the God Mercury, who, in their Names, presented the Queen with a golden Ball trebly divided, purporting their three Gifts of Wisdom, Riches and Felicity."[1] At Pauls Gate another 'pageant' awaited the procession, but these

[1] Maitland's Stow, 1756—p. 234-5.

extracts will suffice to show the sort of pageantry that the 'props' of the Mermaid expected, four centuries ago.

In Repertory 28 (Guildhall), fo. 137, we learn the name of the vintner at the Mermaid in Cheap in 1607, owing to the fact that he was found to possess two hogsheads of defective wine:—"Symon Sutton, Vintner, at the M'mayd in Cheapesyde." The St. Vedast's registers (which Church adjoined the Mermaid) only supply two notices of Sutton. Nov. 1607, a stillborn child of Symon Sutton was buried, and in 1608, Symon sonne of Symon Sutton was baptised.

A contemporary picture, which has been frequently reproduced, shows Cheapside during Edward VI's Coronation procession—the famous Cross, which was carefully regilt for these great occasions, is shown in the picture, and the beautiful houses called Goldsmiths Row on the south side of the street.

A Hearth Tax list, of 1674,[1] of Cheapside, shows the following names near Saddlers' Hall, with the number of their hearths:—"Sadlers Hall 11, John Adams 9, Allison Clarke 8, Matthew Fowler 16, Jos. Ash 4, Tho. Francklin 6, Benj. Pritchard 7, Wm. Ram 8, Robert Moore 8, Tho. Sergeant 7." Matthew Fowler (whose name did not appear in the lists before the Fire) was at the ('Mermaid' or) 'Half-Moon' Tavern, and was admitted to the Vintners Company in 1663. It will be noticed that his name is close to 'Thomas Francklin,' who rebuilt the Mermaid and adjoining houses, and that Wm. Ram (whose site adjoined the Mermaid entry) in also near him.

The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. John Zachary's confirm the fact that Mathew Fowler kept the Half-Moon after the Fire:—1677-8, Paid to Mr. Fowler the Vintner when the accompt was audited 4li. 2s. 6d. 1683-4, "at Mr. Fowler's at ye Half moon Tavern with ye Master and Wardens of ye Wax-chandlers . . . 5s. 6d." 1691-2

[1] Subsidies, 252/23, Rec. Office.

"Paid at Mrs. Fowler's at the Half Moon for a Collacon for the Parish, 17s. 6d." The Half Moon Tavern is also mentioned in 1714 and 1716. In 1699 the Vintners' records show that Giles Hooper was at the Half-Moon in Cheapside.

Matthew Fowler had children baptised at St. Vedast's between 1671 and 1683. In 1677 his son John was baptised "in the ½ Moone Taverne in Cheapside." His name occurs in the burial registers up to 1694. In 1705 a "Servant to Giles Hooper, liveing at y$^{e}$ ½ Moon Tavern in Cheapside" was buried.

THE HALF MOON.

Tokens were rarely issued after 1669, and probably not at all after 1671, when the new copper farthings were first issued. The tokens continued in use, however, until 1674, in spite of orders to the contrary. (See Burn's interesting introduction to his Catalogue of Tokens, 1855).

This point is of importance, because the tokens of the Half Moon, referred by Williamson and Boyne to Cheapside, cannot have concerned the tavern by Saddlers' Hall if my theory is correct that it was called "the Mermaid" before the Fire. An examination of them shows however that there is no evidence that they were issued in Cheapside (with one exception) or that they were issued at a tavern—for the Half Moon was a very common sign.

(588) *O.* At the Halfe Moon—(a crescent moon).
*R.* In the Corte. 1648—W.H.B.

(589) This is similar, but has the date 1658, and initials S.A.M.

(572) *O,* Edward Attwood—(a half-moon).
*R.* In Cheap. Side—E.I.A.

The fact that Burn, and Williamson and Boyne placed the tokens 'In the Corte' under Cheapside (without giving any reason), has led to their definite attribution to that street:—Harben (Dict$^{y}$. of London, 1918), says:—"A Tradesman's token of the Halfe Moon in Cheapside bears date 1648 (Burn, p. 66)."

There was another Half Moon Court in Aldersgate Street, where a very well-known tavern with this sign stood; another court or Alley in Bishopsgate Street, a third by Ludgate, and a fourth on the West side of Bow Lane, about the position of the Mansion House Station.

The third token, of Edward Attwood, was certainly in Cheapside, but I have discovered, from the St. Vedast registers, that this was the sign of a house on the opposite side of Cheapside, amongst the row of Goldsmiths' houses, called Goldsmiths' Row. From Stow's account of the beautiful houses called by this name, between Bread and Friday streets, I was at first puzzled to find frequent references to Goldsmiths' Row in the St. Vedast registers—but the whole line of Goldsmiths' shops, from Old Change to Bread Street, appears to have been called Goldsmiths Row.

Edward Attwood was a painter-stainer, not a vintner. Before the Fire he was in St. Peter's Wood Street Parish, where he signed the Vestry Minutes in 1661, and was Constable in 1662-3. After the Fire he moved to St. Vedast's Parish, where, in 1670 a son of Edward Attwood and Joane his wife, was baptised, his wife, Johanna, was buried in 1689, and in 1699 we find the burial of "Mr. Edward Atwood, Free of y^e^ painter-stayners, who dyed at y^e^ halfe Moone in Goldsmiths Row in Cheapside in this parish at y^e^ house of Charles Halls."

The tokens then do not necessarily conflict with my suggestion, that the 'Half Moon' was the 'Mermaid' before the Fire.

There *was* however a Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside before the Fire. State Papers, 1659. In the examination of Abraham Granger . . . a meeting at the Half Moon in Cheapside is mentioned; and again:—"Mat. Siddall being brought face to face with Granger, he said he did not know him, although he had seen him several times in Gusman's Company at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside, but never received a penny of him."

In 1671 there is a letter from Richard Milles to Williamson, asking him to honour the Governors of Saint Bartholomew's Hospital with his company on the 10th, at the Halfe Moon Tavern in Cheapside:—this was however after the Fire, and was probably the tavern by Saddlers' Hall.

The tavern mentioned in 1659 was possibly the house in Milk Street, by Cheapside, but I only put this forward as a suggestion. There was a Half Moon at the corner of Soper lane, and another in St. Mary Colechurch parish, but there is no evidence that they were taverns.

The Saddlers' Company has been singularly unfortunate in the losses by fire. In addition to the destruction in 1666, their Hall was again completely destroyed in 1821. The Clerk to the Company informs me that, owing to the loss of their records, he is unable to give me the information I had hoped to obtain concerning the names of their tenants at 'the Mermaid' before the Fire, who issued the tokens, or of the exact sites of the Mermaid and Half Moon Taverns.

I will now recapitulate briefly the results of my researches.

Immediately after the Fire the city surveyors several times mention 'the Mermaid' and 'Mermaid Passage,' by Saddlers' Hall, but not once (I believe) the Half Moon, or passage.

Leake's Map of 1666 shows Mermaid Yard in the position later occupied by the Half Moon.

'The Mermaid' adjoined Saddlers' Hall before the Fire, and after that event 'the Half-Moon' takes its place—both belonged to the Saddlers' Company.

In Mills and Oliver's Survey three foundations were set out for Mr. Franckland in 1668, "whereof the Mearmade Cheapside one" (Vol. III, f. 104). In the plan of the sites of William Ram aud Mr. Sargent, 'Mermaid Alley' is shown on the west, and Dr. Franckland north. In the St. Vedast parish registers there are these entries:

1676 "Thomasine daughter of Thos. Franckland Doctor in Physicke Dyed of the Gripes and was buried in the Vault—out of Half Moone Courte:" 1677, "Mary daughter of Mr. John Franckland Dr. in Physick, out of half Moon Courte"—was buried.

In the Day Book, receipts for sites set out in Cheapside, 1667-9, Wm. Ram paid for two sites and Thomas Franklin for three. It is clear from these entries that Dr. Franckland's Mermaid, and Mermaid Court, had become 'Half Moon Court' in 1676.

In the list of London taverns, 1690-1698, the Half Moon in Cheapside is mentioned, but not the Mermaid.

From the preceding notes it is clear that the Mermaid Tavern in Cheap stood by Saddlers' Hall, with its entrance at the present No. 140. I have perhaps taken undue pains to identify it with 'the Half-Moon' after the Fire, but it seems to me to be of great interest to identify the sites of the old taverns or inns with the present houses, and from this point of view the Half Moon was important.

As I have suggested before, the belief that the Cheapside Mermaid was a tavern of outstanding importance appears to have been created in quite modern times. If we could be transported back to Cheapside in the year 1660, and requested the inhabitants to direct us to the 'Mermaid' where the poets and wits were wont to gather together, they would probably protest that they knew nothing of the matter, though perhaps one of them might recollect having heard tell that some lewd players used to get drunk at the Mermaid in Bread Street. Suspecting us of bibulous propensities, they might then suggest that we should obtain all we wanted, in the way of good wines, at the Bull's Head, the Mitre, or the Nag's Head, all within a minute's walk.

There are singularly few references to the Mermaid in Cheapside: in 1637-8 the Churchwardens of St. Peter's, Westcheap, "Paid att the Mairemade in Cheapside for the Visitacon dynner 2li. 14s. 8d."

The Clockmakers' Company records have entries of meetings at 'the Half Moon' in Cheapside in 1693 and 1702. They had no Hall of their own. The Pewterers' Company met there in 1695.

In "The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser," of May 21st, 1772, I find the following notice, which serves to show that the Half Moon Tavern was a recognised place for meetings:—

"Livery of London. A general meeting is appointed to be held at the Half-Moon tavern Cheapside, on Friday next at seven o'clock in the evening, to consider of proper persons to be put in nomination for their choice to serve the office of sheriffs of this great City and County of Middlesex for the year ensuing ——— Paul's-Head tavern, Cateaton Street."

In the 'Picture of London,' 1806, p. 355, there is a list of the principal Hotels, Coffee-houses, Taverns, etc., in London, and *five* are mentioned "Chiefly for Public Dinners," amongst them being "Lewis's New London Tavern and Coffee-house, Cheapside," and "Paul's Head, Cateaton Street." The New London Tavern was the later name for 'the Half Moon.' The 'Mecca' at No. 140 Cheapside may be taken as now occupying the position of the entrance passage to "the Mermaid Tavern."

I propose to deal with the remaining 'Mermaids' in the alphabetical order of the Streets in which they were situated.

### The Mermaid Tavern, Aldersgate.

This Mermaid was afterwards called 'the Fountain' and later still 'the Mourning Bush.' It still exists, with the name of 'the Raglan,' at No. 61, St. Martins-le-Grand. In the Post Office Directory of 1855 it is given at No. 61, as 'the Mourning Bush,' kept by Edward Jackson, but in 1860 it is given as the Raglan Hotel. Lord Raglan, the English commander, died before Sebastopol in 1855. This is one of the few taverns in London to-day which

have had an almost continuous history on the same site since Queen Elizabeth's reign, although its sign has been altered. Although I had obtained many of the following notes from the Hustings Rolls, Fire Decrees, and Churchwardens' Accounts before I saw the "Records of Two City Parishes," by Mr. William McMurray, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance derived from that extremely thorough and interesting work.

The Mermaid was within the old City Wall, and immediately adjoined Aldersgate until the Gate was removed in 1761. Harben's Dictionary mentions the "Fountain Tavern, on the north side of St. Ann's Lane, near Aldersgate (Strype, 1720). Commonly called the 'Mourning Bush,' (Maitland, 1775). Site now occupied by offices and business houses." This note omits the interesting fact that the house was 'the Mermaid' before it was 'the Fountain,' and is still existing as a tavern.

In a deed of 1602,[1] Edward Hinde of London, Gent., and Edmund Hinde, his brother, sold to Andrew Goodyere, vintener, All the messuage . . . called or known by ye signe of 'ye Mermayde' near Aldersgate, in the parish of St. Anne and in the tenure of the said Andrew Goodyere, with cellars, shops [etc.]. The tenement from east to west on the south side abutting on the tenement now in the occupation of Francis Wilton, 66 foote, and on the north side thereof, it abutteth upon ye Wall of ye said cytie of London, and containing from north to south on the west end against the street [St. Martin's lane] 20 feet, and at the east end against the Churchyard of St. Anne 36 feet.

1626. William Goodyere, of Aldershot, Southants, and Bridget his wife, to Mathew Terrye, vintner, sale of tenements in Pope Lane alias St. Anne's Lane, now or late in the occupations of John Saintlow, vintner, Richard Deaves, merchant-taylor [etc.] . . . whereof grantors are

[1] H. R. 281 (40).

seised under the will of Andrew Goodyere, late vintner, decd. H.R. 303 (17).

1632. By William Goodyere, of Aldershot, gentleman, and Bridget his wife, to John Saintlow, vintner, of the Mermaid Tavern, for 21 years at 30 li. H. R. 326 (23).

Mathew Terry kept the Bell Tavern in Distaff Lane for many years, and Edward Terry, of the following deed, was his son. John Saintlowe kept the Castle Tavern near the Royal Exchange from about 1628 to 1645, and was warden of the Vintners' Company in 1644. He evidently sublet the Mermaid to Christopher Gray, vintner, whose widow appears in the poll tax list of 1641.

1646. William and Bridget Goodyeare leased the Mermaid Tavern to William Winders, goldsmith, for 99 years at a peppercorn rental (McMurray, p. 156).

1651. William Goodyeare of Aldershot, gentleman, and Bridget his wife, with Edward, son of the said William, to Edward Terry, vintner . . . Witnesseth that for the sume of one thousand and fower hundred pounds they grant . . . All that Tenement called or known by the name or sign of the Maremaid Taverne situate neere Aldersgate in the parish of St. Anne and Agnes, heretofore in the occupation of one Andrew Goodyeare late vintner decd. and now in that of —— Saintlowe widdow . . . containing in length from east to west on the south side thereof abutting on a tenement there of the said William Goodyeare now in the tenure of Richard Deaves 66 foote . . and on the north side it abutteth uppon the wall of the said City of London, and in breadth from north to south at the west end thereof abutting uppon the streete it contayneth twenty foote, and . . . at the east end thereof abutting uppon the churchyard of St. Anne and Agnes . . . 36 feet . . . and also all that corner house . . called . . the Rose and Crowne [and several other messuages in St. Anne's lane]. All which messuages were late . . . of the aforesaid Andrew Goodyeare deceased, and were by him by his last

will devised to the said William Goodyeare and his heires . . . which anywayes came to the said William as grandchild and heire of the said Andrew. H. R. 326 (23).

1653. An extract from the Fire Decrees, quoted later on, shows that in this year Edward Terry leased the tenement formerly called the Meremaid Taverne and lately the Fountain Taverne to Mathew Hutchinson for 21 years at £40.

1685. June. An indenture between Edward Terry of St. Martin in the Fields Milliner, one of the sons of Edward Terry late vintner, and Mary his wife, John Terry Mercer one other of the sons of Edward Terry, and Anne his wife of the first part, and Edward Fenwick, upholder of the second part, and Robert Oldisworth of the third part . . . . Edward Terry and John Terry sell to Edward Fenwick all those two messuages adjoining together and situate neer Aldersgate . . . . one of which is now used as a Taverne and was formerly known . . by the signe of the Mairmaid and now . . . by the signe of the Fountaine Taverne, and is now in the occupation of John Dyehouse, vintner, and the other in the occupation of —— Hind, Painter . . . all which two messuages extend from north to south on the front towards Sct. Martins street twenty foot and nine inches, and towards Aldersgate six foot and in the reare and east end fourty seaven foot . . . . and in length or depth from east to west sixty six foot and eight inches.[1] The measurements are approximately the same as in the deeds of 1602 and 1651, and the frontage of 'the Raglan' to St. Martin's lane is still about 20 ft. The main entrance to the tavern was probably always in the main street of St. Martins, much where it still exists, and where it is shown in Maitland's map, 1756, but there was the usual back entrance (or exit) in the alley leading to the west end of St. Anne's church.

[1] H. R., 352 (3).

At the time of the Fire the tavern was occupied by Mathew Hutchinson, vintner, who issued two tokens with the Fountain sign on the obverse. He was the Petitioner in one of the Fire Decrees[1] against John Terrey, executor of Edward Terrey decd., concerning the rebuilding of the tenement formerly called "the Meremaid Taverne" and lately "the Fountaine Taverne," situate in St. Martins in the parish of St. Anne and St. Agnes. It was stated that Edward Terrey, senior, demised the premises to the petitioner in 1653. The Court ordered that Mathew Hutchinson should be the rebuilder of the premises, forty years being added to the term of his lease, at £20 per annum. Mathew Hutchinson was one of the Vintners' Searchers in 1662.

In the Survey for rebuilding the City (Mills & Oliver) we find Mathew Hutchinson's site described:—

"Front north and south 20 ft. 9 ins. from the Buttress at the North-east corner of Aldersgate to the party wall south . . . at the back end north and south 48 feet, and in depth at the south side from the front to the churchyard wall 68 feet."

The back premises of the Raglan abut to-day on the Churchyard of St. Ann and Agnes, in St. Ann's Lane (now Gresham Street).

Probably the 'Mermaid Tavern' formed part of the possessions of one of the Religious Houses before the Reformation. The earliest reference to the property on this site is given by Mr. McMurray (p. 184). 1544. Grant in fee to Robert Taverner of a number of houses in London and elsewhere, "including the farm of a great tenement called "le Sterre" in the parish of St. Anne in Aldrichegate . . . described as extending from the gate called Aldrichegate to the wall of the church of St. Anne, the said church and its cemetery lying to the east, the city wall on the north, and the street called Popelane on the south, leased to Walter Lambard in 1538 for 99 years . . .

[1] Fire Decrees, Guildhall.

the premises are held by fealty and are rated at 60s. which at fifteen years purchase amounts to the sum of 30 li." Mr. McMurray gives, as one authority, the 'Particulars for Grants, Augmentation Office.' The site of 'the Star' evidently included that of the later Mermaid Tavern. Mr. McMurray (in his remarkably complete account of deeds, etc. relating to the parishes of St. Anne and St. John Zachary) on p. 193*a*, quotes the Inq. P.M. concerning Augustine Hynde, Alderman, in 1554, whose property included nine messuages in St. Anne's parish, which he bequeathed to Edward Hynde his third son and heir—"it is held of the Queen by fealty and not in chief and is worth in the whole 30li. 8s. 4d. per annum." There appears to be no evidence that a tavern then formed part of the property, though it may have done so. Edward and Edmund Hinde (probably grandsons of Augustine) sold their interest to Andrew Goodyear in 1602, though he had probably leased the tavern since about 1575.

Mr. McMurray's work throws valuable light on the rather puzzling question of the 'Fountain' taverns, one of which belonged to the Church of St. Anne's, while the other was a later sign of 'the Mermaid.' Mathew Hutchinson occupied both, and doubtless changed the sign of the Mermaid to the Fountain. It would be simpler to suppose that the Fountain in St. Anne's lane stood close to the church, and adjoined the back-entrance of the Mermaid there, but the notes (from McMurray's book) given below suggest that it was on the opposite (south) side of St. Anne's lane.

### 'The Fountain' in St. Anne's Lane.

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Anne's parish there is an annual receipt of a rent of £7, at first for Mr. Deputy Tully's house, 1637 onwards, and from 1646 Mr. Acton, Mr. Tully's executor, paid this £7 rent for

'the Fountain Tavern.' In 1654 Mr. Pratt and Mr. Acton each paid half a year's rent for the Fountain Tavern. In 1660 Mr. Acton paid the £7 rent, and in 1663, Mr. Hutchinson paid £7 rent to the parish, and up to 1665. At this period he occupied the Mermaid Tavern (then called the Fountain). I think this Fountain tavern can be traced back to the house in St. Anne's Lane, leased in 1581 to Thomas Harbottell by the parish, and leased in 1616, by the punning sign (much favoured at that period) of 'the Hare and Bottle' to Thomas Rumbold, Vintner, and in 1622 by the Parson and Wardens to William Tulley, merchant-taylor, then called 'the Hoope,' for 21 years at £7. (McMurray, p. 153, b.). In 1653, the Parson and Wardens leased to William Pratt, vintner, a tenement now in his occupation, and lately occupied by George Burdett vintner, known as 'the Fountain' in St. Anne's Lane . . . lately in the tenure of William Tulley, merchant-taylor, for 16 years at 7li. The following rooms in the tavern are mentioned:—"in the Roome called the Tunne, one brick and the room wainscotted round; in the George . . . the roome wainscotted round; in the Castle, . . . in the Bell; and in the Mayre Mayde and the Owle, wainscott on one side the same roomes." (McMurray, p. 157, b.). William Tullie, by his will in 1638, made a bequest of fifty-two shillings a year, for bread for the poor, during the remaining term of his lease of the house in St. Anne's lane now known by the sign of the Fountain "which I hold by lease of the said parrishe." In 1668, the Parson and Wardens leased to Mathew Hutchinson, vintner, a site in St. Anne's lane, upon part of which formerly stood a tavern once in the tenure of William Pratt, vintner, and subsequently in that of grantee . . . abutting west on the land of John Stringer. Other deeds quoted by Mr. McMurray show that Stringer's house adjoined the Bell Inn, which was on the *south* side of St. Anne's lane. It is very confusing that Mathew Hutchinson was connected

with two 'Fountains,' but the dimensions of his *site* (given in the Survey after the Fire) prove that it was that of Andrew Goodyere's Mermaid, and probably he issued his two Fountain tokens at that house.

The Poll Tax list of Aldersgate Ward (Rec. Off. 252/1) in which the names evidently start from the gate, confirms the fact that Christopher Gray, vintner, had occupied the Mermaid Tavern. The list commences:—"Tho. Harvest et ux; Mary Gray widdow, vintner. (she had only two men and one maid-servant); Richard Deeves et ux., Taylor. He had only one servant, but three "Contry gents. lodgers." The deeds mention his tenement, south of the Mermaid.

In the same Poll tax list of 1641, a long way below Richard Deeves, and therefore not adjoining the Mermaid, we find "Edward Fox, pewterer; and George Burdett et ux, vintner." The lease of 1653 shows that the latter occupied the Fountain. Presumably Mathew Hutchinson somewhere about 1663, obtained the lease of this other 'Fountain' tavern, which during Pratt's tenancy had perhaps become a serious rival to the Mermaid, and the churchwardens would not unnaturally support their own tenant. There is still a Fountain sign in the district, adjoining St. Vedast's church on the north.

In the Lambeth MS. tithes list of 1638, Mr. Grey's rent is given as £40, and Mr. Burdett's £20. In the 1641 poll list of the Vintners' Company we find: "Geo. Burdet at y^e^ fountayne in S^t^ Anns lane."

John Timbs, F.S.A., gives an interesting but inaccurate account of the tavern.[1] He wrote:—

"Far more celebrated was the Mourning Bush Tavern, in the cellars of which have been traced the massive foundations of Aldersgate, and the portion of the City wall which adjoins them. This tavern, one of the largest and most ancient in London, has a curious history. The Bush Tavern, its original name, took for

[1] History of Clubs, p. 393

its sign the *Ivy-bush* hung up at the door." He then quotes Fosbroke as saying:—' The owner of the Mourning Bush, Aldersgate, was so affected at the decollation of Charles I, that he *painted his bush black*.' Timbs proceeds:—" From this period the house is scarcely mentioned until the year 1719, when we find its name changed to the Fountain, whether from political feeling against the then exiled House of Stewart, or the whim of the proprietor we cannot learn; though it is thought to have reference to a spring on the east side of the gate . . . ." ". . . Twenty years later, in a large plan of Aldersgate Ward, 1739-40, we find the Fountain changed to the original Bush . . . . The exterior is shown in a print of the south side of Aldersgate . . . and immediately adjoins the Gate. The last notice of the Bush as a place of entertainment, occurs in Maitland's History of London, ed. 1722, where it is described as ' the Fountain, commonly called the Mourning Bush, which has a back door into St. Anne's-Lane, and is situated near unto Aldersgate.' The house was refitted in 1830. In the basement are the original wine-vaults of the old Bush; many of the walls are six feet thick, and bonded throughout with Roman brick."

Strype, 1720, wrote:—" The Fountain Tavern, which hath a back door into St. Annes lane, is seated near unto Aldersgate."

The Fountain sign was used until 1725 or so, but from 1703 onwards it was also called ' the Mourning Bush.' This sign, or simply ' the Bush Tavern,' continued until about 1856, when it was changed to the Lord Raglan, though the old name was still used.

I am unable to say whether Fosbroke originated the story of the adoption of the Mourning Bush sign after the execution of Charles I, or whether he had any authority for the statement. In all the 17th century references I have found, the tavern is called the Mermaid or the Fountain, and it seems more probable that it was adopted as a Jacobite sign of sympathy during James II's exile in France, after 1689—the first mention of the name, that I have come across, is in 1703.

Timbs obtained much of his information from a booklet by Wm. Herbert, 1830:—" Illustrations of the site and

neighbourhood of the New Post Office." . . containing an account of the Antient Mourning Bush Tavern:—

"Research has failed to produce much respecting the old Mourning Bush Tavern, by Aldersgate, further than to satisfy us that it was highly celebrated in its day . . . we only find a single historical fact concerning it."

The writer then quotes the story of the occupier of the house painting "the carved representation of a *bush* black when Charles I was beheaded," from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1818. He proceeds:—

"Considering the fact that the alteration by its loyal owner carries us back nearly two centuries, and that it was at this period no doubt an old house, it will not be assuming too much to suppose the Bush might have been coeval with the most flourishing time of St. Martin's-le-Grand College."

This was written by a recognised authority on Old London almost a century ago, and I think I may not unfairly claim that the results of more modern research concerning the Mermaid, the Fountain, and the Mourning Bush tavern have been decidedly more satisfactory.

It has been shown that the Bread Street Mermaid was the tavern frequented by Ben Jonson, Beaumont and their circle, but there appears to be a general desire to make Shakespeare also frequent a 'Mermaid' tavern, and Miss Wotton (in a paper in Gollancz's "Book of Homage to Shakespeare") urges the claim of the Mermaid tavern at Aldersgate. In the absence of any real evidence, it is not easy to understand why he should be forced into a *Mermaid* tavern, rather than the King's Head on Fish Street Hill, the Boars Head in Eastcheap, or the group of taverns near Blackfriars and the Stairs, the Mermaid or Mitre in Bread Street, the White Horse in Friday Street, or the Swan in Old Fish Street. All these signs swung before his eyes, and we may with just as good reason imagine him passing a quiet evening in any one of them, in an old wainscotted room with its own sign above the

door—the Hart, the Pomegranate, or the Dolphin. Apart from this, however, Miss Wotton's paper is interesting and suggestive, and is chiefly based on the fact that Andrew Goodyer was the vintner at this Mermaid for many years, from about 1575 onwards.

Miss Wotton suggests that Andrew Goodyer's 'Mermaid' was a meeting place of Michael Drayton and Shakespeare. They were both Warwickshiremen, whose birth-places were not far distant, and were friends. Fuller wrote of Michael Drayton:—

"He was a pious Poet . . . . very temperate in his life, slow of speech, and inoffensive in Company . . . . He was born within a few miles of William Shakespeare."

We can more readily imagine the 'gentle' Shakespeare enjoying an evening in quiet converse with Drayton, than with the roysterers of their circle. Michael Drayton was befriended in his youth by Sir Henry Goodyere, of Polesworth in the Forest of Arden, who was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to James the First. Sir Henry was a great friend of that remarkable poet, Dr. John Donne, who addressed a verse letter to him; and he himself wrote some verses which have survived. Drayton was brought up at Polesworth, and his "Idea" was Anne Goodyere, Sir Henry's cousin. (Note on p. 217, Vol. II of Donne's Poems, The Muses' Library ed.).

The suggestion is that Andrew may have been related to Sir Henry Goodyere, but I do not gather that there is any evidence that this was the case. Some bills for dinners at Andrew Goodyer's tavern, between 1586 and 1591, have been preserved, and are extremely interesting. The dinners were provided for the Churchwardens or Vestry of the adjoining church of SS. Anne and Agnes on the occasion of the annual Audit of the accounts, or other parish event (such as the 'Visitation' day). All the old Churchwardens' accounts refer to similar dinners, the principal occasions being the Audit, and the "Peram-

bulation " day, when the parishioners ' beat the bounds ' of the parishes.. The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Anne's from 1636 onwards constantly mention these dinners, usually at the Fountain or Mermaid when the tavern is named. Mr. McMurray quotes five of the old bills (pp. 14, 15), from which the following are extracted:—

1586. " Audit Dynner and Sealing of Writings," 8 Dec. 1586: " Recd. for Bred ijs.; Bere and Ale xiiijd.; Wine, vs. iiijd.; yor Brawn ijs. viijd.; Rost Beffe vjs.; yor Mutton iijs.; Rost Capons iiijs.; Fyar vjd.; Som: xxiiijs. (Signed) Andrew Goodyer." (Original bill of the proprietor of the Mermaid Tavern. An item of 8d. in the total is struck out). " Visitacon Dynner," 28 Aug. 1589: " Recd for Bread xjd.; Beere and ale xvjd.; Wine iijs. viijd. Boyld Mutton iijs. viijd.; Rost beefe iiijs.; Cappons iiijs. iiijd.; Cheese viijd.; more a quart of sake viijd.; Suger ixd.; More for wine xijd.; Suma xxs. (Signed) Andrew Goodyer."

The great interest attached to these old tavern bills lies in the fact that similar accounts, so far as the form and spelling are concerned, were presented to Shakespeare and Ben Jonson and their friends. Such slips of paper were discovered in Falstaff's pocket in the Boar's Head Tavern, and it is interesting to compare the bill read out by Peto (1 Henry IV, Act II, Sc. 4)—" Item, a Capon, ijs. ijd., Item, Sawce, iiijd., Item, Sacke, two Gallons, vs. viijd., Item, Anchoves and Sacke after Supper, ijs. vjd., Item, Bread, ob." The " one halfe penny-worth of Bread to this intollerable deale of Sacke " sharpened the jest against fat Jack, and the price of the Capon may be usefully compared with those (doubtless for two birds) in Andrew Goodyer's bills; while Falstaff's sack cost him 8½d. a quart, against the Mermaid's 8d. In a Subsidy Roll of Aldersgate Ward, 1596-7 (Record Office), I find Andrew Goodyeare assessed at £20, the tax being at 2s. 8d. in the pound. Near him are the names of Wm. Gayle, Barber-surgeon, £10, Christopher Yelverton, and John Peacocke. McMurray (p. 418) shows that Andrew Goodyear was Churchwarden of St. Anne's in 1587-8, and

again in 1597. Most of the vintners who kept taverns ran quickly through the various parish offices, scavenger, constable and churchwarden, and it was obviously in their interest (especially as the parish dinners, suppers and "potations" were often held in their houses) to be on the best of terms with the parish authorities. Andrew was Warden of the Vintners' Company in 1594. Strype, 1720 (Vol. II, p. 196) relates that some persons had petitioned the Lord Treasurer for a new office to be erected for the gauging of Wines and Oyles within the City . . . "Concerning this the Lord Treasurer sent to the Company of Vintners for their Judgment herein. To which the Master, John Pindar, and Rafe Fitche and Andrew Goodyere, wardens, gave answer, that they did not find any Necessity for such an Office or Officer." In the account of "the Mitre" in Bread Street, it will be seen that his fellow-warden, Ralph Fytche, was the tenant in that tavern in 1572. John Pindar, the Master in 1594, kept the famous old 'Mitre in Cheap,' so that it happens that all three of the Vintners named by Strype were connected with taverns in this series.

Andrew Goodyer is mentioned several times between 1585 and 1598 in the lists of searchers appointed each year by the Vintners' Company to find defective wines in the various cellars in London. In 1595 he was himself presented for having in his cellar "Sweet wyne defective, at Andrew Goodyeres vintner at Aldersgate, 1 butt 1 pipe."[1] Taverners at more celebrated houses were not infrequently "presented" thus by their confrères (see the Mitre in Cheap). In 1575 there was a serious quarrel between the Common Council of the City and the Vintners concerning the price of French wine, and as these MS. records are little known, and this one serves as an example of the powers of the City Authorities, it is perhaps worth quoting:—

[1] Repertory 23, fo. 474.

" Itm. yt was orderyd by this Co'te that all such vynteners wh. lately were pre'tyd to this co'te . . . to have soulde any wynes of the growthe of the domynion of Fraunce by ingrosse above ye pryce of tenne pounds the Tonne and xijd. the gallon and other smaller measures after that rate, contrary to the tenor of the p'clamacon lately made . . shalbe forthwith comytted to pryson in one of the Comptors of this Cytie there to remayne untyll furder order shalbe taken by this Co'te for their delyverance."[1]

A little later (fo. 82, b.) there is a long list of " vyntners comytted to ward "—a list of 24 names follows, which includes a few whose houses I can identify:—

John Pynder (Mitre in Cheap), Henry Peirson (Swan in Old Fish Street), Andrew Goodyer (Mermaid, Aldersgate), John Thrall (Boar's Head, Old Fish Street), Robert Prannyll (Castle, Paternoster Row)[2] . . . " vynteners and retayllers of wynes . . . . specially examined whether they have sould any wines of . . . . Fraunce above the pryces of xijd. the gallon, vjd. the pottell and iijd. the quarte, did here in open Court severally confesse and declare that they have not observed the said pryce. Whereupon it was ordered . . . that they . . . for their sayd offence shalbe comytted to pryson into the severall Compters of this Citie."

A further list of those who did not put in an appearance (including Thomas Wryghte of the Boar's Head, Eastcheap), is given, who are to be forthwith apprehendyd for contempte.

The above Court was held on May 29th, 1575, and at a Special Court on June 2nd orders were given for the release of twenty of the offenders, including Goodyere.

In this same Repertory 19, fo. 219, an interesting list of " prices of poultry wares " is given, which shows what a remarkable variety of birds might have been seen in Elizabeth's time on the poulterer's stalls, and suggests the varied quarry that the falconer of the period might find.

" Signettes fatte . . . vj. iiijd. Cranes fatte the beste vjs., phesant, heron, shoveler and bytterne the beste ijs. viijd. Turkye

[1] Rep. 19, fo. 66, b.

[2] Robert Prannell, vintner, was the brother of Henry Prannell, who had the Castle: I do not think that Dick Tarleton kept the Castle; both he and Henry Prannell died in 1588-9.

cocke fatte and lardge the beste 3s. 8d.; Turkye chycken fatte xxd. Woodcocke fatte the peice vjd.; Snype the peice iijd.; pygeons the beste the dozen xvjd.; Chycken fatte the largiste vd.: hennes the best xd.; grene plovers fatte the peice iiijd.; the wylde Mallard vjd.; Teales iv; Wydgines iiijd.; the beste capon large and fatte ijs.; Blackbyrds the dozen being fatt xijd.; Partridge the beste xd."

The price of the Capon is almost the same as that paid by Falstaff, and shows how highly it was esteemed as a table bird. The sale of blackbirds by the dozen suggests that the nursery rhyme of the " four and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie " is an old one.

To return to the Mermaid in Aldersgate (with which tavern these lists have no more connection than with any other tavern of the period), the list of 1575 shows that Andrew Goodyear was already exercising his trade in that year. In 1610 he was one of the six vintners elected as Governors of Bridewell, two of the others being William Williamson (Bread Street Mermaid) and William Hobson (Mitre in Fenchurch Street).

Mr. McMurray, p. 76, gives a very interesting list of the parishioners of St. Anne's in 1584 who subscribed towards " the making of the Common Pump in St Anne's lane at the churchyard wall there," which commences:—Mrs. Alice Day, widow, vis., Andrew Goodyere, xs. Andrew's subscription of 10s. towards the Pump was probably a cheap and excellent investment; *how* excellent we can with difficulty realise to-day with the water laid on to our houses. Mr. McMurray (p. 211) quotes Andrew Goodyere's will, 1621, in which he leaves his dwelling house called " the Maremayde Taverne," situated next Aldersgate, to his cousin Edward Goodyere, son of his late brother John, for ten years . . . remainder to grandchild and executor William Goodyere.

Alice Day was no doubt the widow of the well-known printer, John Day, who lived over Aldersgate, and was thus a near neighbour of the Mermaid.

Although there is no evidence that the Aldersgate Mermaid was more than a tavern of local repute, well-patronised by the neighbouring churchwardens and parishioners, it has a great advantage over most of its rivals in that several old deeds exist concerning its history before the Fire, and also the tavern bills of Elizabeth's time; and furthermore it still exists, though with another name. It is interesting to be able to imagine that Shakespeare and Drayton *may* have visited the tavern on this very site. This, together with the fact that it marks the position of one of the ancient city gates, gives "the Raglan" a strong claim on the attention of all lovers of Old London.

Tokens of the Mermaid and Fountain:—

*O.* The Mermayde Tavern—(a mermaid).

*R.* At Aldersgate, 1651—I.B.

Another token, "At ye Syne of ye Meare Maid in St. Ann Lane—(a mermaid)"—issued by B.E.W. may have been at the tavern—but was probably issued by a shop-keeper near the back entrance. I have a specimen of this token, on which is a very scaly 'mermaid,' with the usual mirror and comb. John Harris also issued a halfpenny token in 1671 in St. Anne's Lane, with the Mermaid sign.

Dryden refers to the Mermaid signs, in "Limberham" (Act II, sc. 1), when Woodall displays himself to Gervase, and inquires how his wig fits:—

> Gerv. "O very finely! with the Locks comb'd down like a a Mermaid's on a Sign-post."

The other two tokens have the Fountain sign, and Hutchinson probably issued the farthing one before the Fire, and the halfpenny one at the rebuilt tavern.

(37) *O.* Mathew Hutchinson—(a fountain). } ¼.
*R.* Within. Aldersgate—M.A.H. }

(36) *O.* Mathew Hutchinson With —(a fountain). } ½.
*R.* In Aldersgate. His Half. Penny—M.A.H. }

I cannot identify the issuer of the first Mermaid token 1651, with initials I.B..

The Pewterers' Company records have an entry of a payment (during Goodyear's tenancy).

1590. "Itm spent upon bartelmew daye our search dynner at the Marmayd at Aldersgat. £2 9s. 4d."

The search was doubtless at the stalls in Bartholomew Fair, which was not far away.

1637. The Poulter's Company record a payment "att the Mairemaid att Aldersgate."

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Anne and St. Agnes,[1] there are many references to the tavern, and also to the vintner, Mathew Hutchinson. Unfortunately the first volume preserved does not commence till 1636.

1637. Mr. Deputy Tully paid the yearly Rent of £7. Later on it becomes clear that this was for the Fountain Tavern in St. Anne's Lane.

1644. Item layd out att a dinner at the Mearmayde. 12s.2d.

This is, I think, the first mention of the sign; usually the mere payment "for a dinner" is recorded.

1646. Mr. Acton. Mr. Tullies exor. (paid rent) for one yeare for the fountaine taverne. In this year "a dynner at the Mayre Maid," and also a dinner at the Fountain are recorded.

1648. "Imprimis for the Auditt dynner and for wine at the Mearmaide." £5 18 7. 1648-9. 'Paid Mr. Pratt at a meeting 2s. 6d.; and "Paid at Mr. Pratt's 5s. 10s." 1649. A dinner at 'the Fountaine' is recorded.

1651. Item spent at the Fountaine taverne about the p'sh business 2s. 3d. The Audit Dinner (probably at the Mermaid) cost cost 6. 19. 4., and "Item laid out for Tobacco 1s." The perambulation Dinner cost £4. 17. 10.

1652. Recd. of Mr. Acton for the Fountaine Taverne for one yeares rent £7. 0. 0. The Audit Dinner cost £7 1. 6d.; and "Paid Mr. Pratt for dressing of the Auditt dinner 1s. 9d."

1653-4. Item paid Mr. Prat the Vintner for 15 pints and one ½ pint of Canary, 12s. 11d.

[1] Guildhall Library, MS. 587.

Mr. Pratt and Mr. Acton each pay half a year's rent for the Fountain Tavern; and Mr. Pratt supplied a gallon and a half of Muskadyne for 10s. William Pratt, vintner, was buried in 1653.

Blount's Dictionary, 1661, says: "Muscadel or Muscadine (vinum muscatum), a kind of wine so called, because for sweetness and smell it resembles musk. This wine comes for the most part from the Isle Creta or Candy . . ." It was a sweet wine used for the Sacrament.

1663. "Item spent at Mr. Hutchinsons when some of the Auntients were there about his rent. 2s. 6d."

The earliest large book of accounts ends in 1663, but there is a small book, 1663-1687 (MS. 1612, Guildhall), in which there are many references to 'the Fountain Tavern.' The accounts of this church are exceedingly well kept, but the items of expenditure are so full, and there are so many concerning the poor and the parish children, etc., that it is a wearisome task to extract the items of interest for this work.

1664. Item paid Mr. Hutchinson for wyne for the Communion on the 14th of June and the second of August, 1663, and for wyne for Ministers into the Vestrey £1 4s. 6d.

1667. A typical entry of this period is the following:—

"Inprimis paid for wyne in the Vestrey and for a Dynner for the Auditors on the Auditt day £2 18. 6. Item given unto the Mayde and the Drawers, 3s."

This, like Andrew Goodyear's bill, some eighty years before, doubtless refers to a dinner at the Mermaid tavern, or some hastily rebuilt portion of it after the Fire.

Matthew Hutchinson was succeeded by his widow (whose initial 'A' is on the tokens) about 1670. In the Hearth list of 1674 Anne Hutchinson was assessed on 9 hearths, and in 1675 the wardens record a payment at Mrs. Hutchinsons. Several payments at the Fountain are recorded up to 1684, in which year a dinner of "Fish, Eggs and Sparrowgrass" is recorded at the Fountaine. The tavern is often mentioned from 1683-6, some of the

meetings being concerned wth a dispute with the Terry family. 1683, Item paid and spent att the Fountaine Taverne when the ground was measured about Mr. Terry's houses, 4s. 6d.

To add further confusion to the signs, another tavern appears to have been called 'the Mermaid'—1689-90, 2s. 6d. was spent on the Antients at the Mairemaid, and in 1694-5 "the Tithing money of ye Mermaid" was received, evidently a fine. Perhaps it was on the site of the earlier Fountain?

1687. Dinner at the Fountaine on Election day—and also on Perambulation day.

Perambulation day was a great event—the parish procession of auncients, etc., went round the bounds of the parish, striking the boundary marks, while the boys were given white willow wands, with coloured ribbons called points, for which there is an annual entry in the accounts of most parishes. Refreshments of wine and beer were usual, and also a dinner. This took place on Ascension Day or Holy Thursday, ten days before Whitsunday. Pepys records, on May 23rd, 1661—

"This day was kept a holy-day through the town; and it pleased me to see the little boys walk up and down in procession with their broom-staffs in their hands, as I had myself long ago gone."

Towards the close of the century, Edward Speight, vintner, kept the Fountain. He was buried in 1700. (McMurray). In 1697-8 a payment at the Fountain with the Antients "about Rent of the Back Doore," is recorded. This entry was probably on part of the old churchyard in St. Anne's lane.

1696. Perambulation Dinner at ye Fountaine—also in 1708-1712. At this period it is often referred to as "Mr. Hatt's." "Jos. Hatt at the Mourning Bush Aldersgate" was admitted to the Vintners' Company in 1703—and this is the earliest occasion on which I have

found the use of that sign, though it was also called ' the Fountain ' till much later. Joseph Hatt, vintner, was buried in 1729 (McM.). Probably the Fountain sign was used, and the " bush " of ivy was painted black.

It would be natural to suppose that vine leaves were used in the South for the bush, to denote a tavern, and that ivy was used in the North as a substitute, but Erasmus, in his ' Epitome Adagiorum ' (Cologne, 1549), quotes the Roman proverb (a good wine needs no bush) " Vino vendibili suspensa hedera nihil est opus."

Ivy was sacred to Bacchus, the God of Wine, and as all taverns formerly had a " bush," generally at the end of a projecting pole, alone or in addition to their special sign, not only in England but throughout the Continent, it is perhaps of sufficient interest to quote Dodoen's Herbal (1578, English edition).

" Ivie is called in Greek Cissos, bycause of a certaine Mayden or Damsell, whose name was Cissus, the whiche at a feast or banquet (whereunto the Goddes were al bidden) so daunced before Bacchus, and kissed him often, making suche mirthe and joy, that being overcome with the same fel to the ground, and killed her selfe. But as soone as the earth knew thereof, she brought foorth immediately, the Ivie bushe, . . . the which as soone as it groweth up a little, commeth to embrace the Vine, in remembrance that the Damosell Cissus was wonte to love and embrace Bacchus the God of Wine."

It is worth while to obtain the permission of the landlord to visit the cellars at the Raglan, which extended to the foundations of the old city wall. Unfortunately some of the interesting features have been removed.

The cellars extend eastward close to the Church of St. Anne and Agnes. In Stow's time there were high ash trees in the churchyard, but he says the Church was known as ' St. Anne in the Willows,' which (unless the word willow was a corruption) suggests that the site was once marshy.

Matthew Hutchinson, the tenant at the time of the Fire

who issued ' the Fountain " tokens, was assessed on 9 Hearths, in the Hearth Tax list of 1662-3, in the precinct of St. Anne's. The ' fountaine ' is one of the two taverns named in St. Martins-le-Grand in the list of taverns in 1691-8 (Harl. MS.).

An eighteenth century book which was formerly in the Vestry of St. Botolph's Church (quoted in the interesting account of that church by the Rev. T. S. Henrey), gives some odd references to the Mourning Bush Tavern. It appears that the curate, the Rev. W. Freeman, had sundry grievances, about 1726, against the Vicar, Dr. Moore, and the partisan feeling in the parish ran high. One grievance was that some scandalous verses (reflecting on the Rev. Freeman) were written with a diamond upon a glass in the Crown Club, at the Mourning Bush Tavern. (The verses are very lame and devoid of present interest).

Freeman enters another note in the book . . .

" Oct. ye 27th 1735. This evening at the Mourning Bush, Mr. Smith had the consummate impudence to engage some of his drunken acquaintances to expel me from the Club for no reason, unless it was because I drank the Queen's health, when he would have me drink only the King's."

This suggests that Mr. Freeman had got mixed up with a Jacobite Club without knowing it, and that the members were anxious to get rid of him.

Mr. McMurray says that from 1770 to 1823 the Mourning Bush was converted into a currier's, and was re-opened as the " New Mourning Bush Tavern " in 1825.

I will repeat in conclusion that ' the Mermaid,' the Fountain,' or ' the Mourning Bush ' Tavern is now ' the Raglan,' at No. 61 St. Martin's le Grand, which serves as an exact guide to the position of the old gate and the city wall, immediately *within* which it was situated.

### The Mermaid Tavern at Billingsgate.

It is not easy to realise that the district round the old

dock was once famed for its taverns—for fish dinners, and sherry.

Smart's Quay was on the East of Billingsgate Dock, and Somer's Quay on the West. St. Mary-at-Hill parish included about six houses in Thames Street on either side of the dock. The Mermaid Tavern probably stood close to the West side of Billingsgate, near Somer's Quay.

Token: *O.* The Mairmead Tavern—(a Mermaid).

*R.* At Billin-gate, 1650—V.I.H.

The initials are uncommon, and I think we can safely identify the issuer with Valentine Hayward, whom I find assessed in Billingsgate Ward, in the Hearth Tax list of 1662-3, on 17 hearths, which shows that it was a large tavern. In the Vestry Book of St. Mary-at-Hill I find Valentin Hayward's signature in 1641, and in April 1642 he was chosen as Churchwarden for the year ensuing. He probably succeeded Thomas Burbidge, who is mentioned " at ye Maremaid Billingsgate " in the Vintners' Company Records in 1640.

Since writing these notes I have seen the interesting list of unpublished tokens, by Mr. W. Gilbert, one of which was issued by Valentine Hayward, upon Billingsgate .57- (a Mermaid and three tons).

Robert Cash evidently succeeded Hayward at the Mermaid in 1662-3, for he issued a token:—

*O.* Rob. Cash, 1663—(a Mermaid).

*R.* At Billingsgate—R.A.C.

Another token, " At the Queens Head—(Bust of the Queen of Bohemia) at Billingsgate—R.A.C." suggests that Robert Cash changed the sign of the Mermaid to that of the Queen of Bohemia's Head, probably as a compliment to the restored Royal Family. Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the daughter of King James I, died in London in 1662. S.M.B. are the initials on another token " At the Queen's Head at Billingsgate." Stephen Lock also issued a token with the Queen's head, " at Summers Key near

Billingsgate, 68," after the Fire. The various people named are mentioned in the following extract from the Fire Decrees, which also helps to confirm my suggestion that Valentine Hayward issued the 1650 token, on which his wife's initial is " I." The Mermaid at Billingsgate is described as situate in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill . . . . In 1663 Francis Heath demised the lease to Johan Hayward, widow, and subsequently she sublet to Robert Cash, deceased, whose relict, Anne, afterwards married the defendant, Stephen Lock. The details given in the extract below suggest that the *Mermaid*, at any rate in Stephen Lock's time, was an ale-house, not a tavern.

1667. Francis Heath, haberdasher, Petitioner against Johan Rowlands and Stephen Locke and Anne his wife:—

Francis Heath being possessed by Lease from the City of London of a messuage . . . knowne by the Signe of the Mermaid scituate . . . in the parish of St. Mary Hill in the Ward of Billingate London, did by Indenture dated the fourteenth day of June one thousand six hundred sixty and three demise the same to one Johan Hayward widow for 31 years, at £72 rent. Joan Hayward demised it for £80 rent to one Robert Cash deceased, whose relict Anne married Stephen Locke who was in possession of the premises at the time of the late dreadfull fire. In the debate it was stated:—" Mr. Sturges informed the Court that this House was built upon the Wast ground which is staked out and cannot bee rebuilt, and that the said Stephen Lock and his wife kept a Victualling House in the House which was burnt downe and by reason of great losse in Beere and other goods is utterly undone."[1]

It will be noticed that the name Anne agrees with the initial of Robert Cash's wife on the token, and furthermore this extract supports the suggestion that Robert Cash changed the Sign from ' the Mermaid ' to ' the Queen of Bohemia's Head.' In the Day-Book of payments after the Fire, I find that Mr. Stephen Lock paid for one site at Somers Key.

[1] Fire Decrees, Guildhall, Vol. i, fo. 433.

Timbs (History of Clubs etc., p. 104,) gives a picture of Simpson's "Three Tuns Tavern" at Billingsgate, which shows it on the waterside at the west corner of Billingsgate Dock, corresponding to Somer's Quay. The Three Tuns was famed for its fish dinners, its sherry and punch. It is not easy to realise today what an important harbour and landing-place Billingsgate was in the old days, its position below the bridge giving it an added importance. Ben Jonson, in "The Devil is an Ass," makes Iniquity say:—

"Nay, boy, I will bring thee to the bawds and the roysters
At Billingsgate, feasting with claret-wine and with oysters."

In the 'New Guide to London,' 1756, (in French and English), Billingsgate was noted for similar pleasures:— "where you have the best and freshest oysters in London, and in all the Taverns thereabouts the best Canary in England to help you to digest them." It was therefore an old tradition that Simpson worthily maintained at the Three Tuns. In the 1842 London Directory, Dark House lane is given between Nos. 15 and 16 Lower Thames Street, and the "Queen's Head" public house at No. 18. The Three Tuns, John Simpson, is given at No. 11 Billingsgate. 'The Queen's Head' at No. 18 Lower Thames Street, stood at the west corner of Billingsgate Market (north-west of the Dock), and probably represented the Old Queen's Head and the Mermaid tavern. The modern market occupies its site. Dark House Lane, at No. 16, appears to have been identical with Little Somers Quay.

'The King's Head and Mermaid' sign exists today at No. 116 Lower Thames Street, a short distance east of Pudding Lane. This sign had no connection however with the earlier 'Mermaid Tavern' for within the present century it was the Mermaid Ale-house. When the old 'King's Head' tavern, at the corner of King's Head Court in Pudding Lane, was demolished, its license was transferred to the 'King's Head and Mermaid,' a little further east.

THE MERMAID TAVERN IN BOW LANE.

Token: *O.* The Mermayde Tavern—(a Mermaid).
*R.* In Bowe Lane. 1652—I.A.P.

In Williamson and Boyne's list of tokens the issuer's initials are given as I.A.D. On my own specimen the initials are clearly I.A.P., and Mr. G. C. Brooke, of the coin department in the British Museum, very kindly informs me that their specimen also reads "I.A.P." We can almost certainly identify the issuer with John Powell, vintner, and his second wife, Anne. A plan in Mills and Oliver's Survey shows that the Mermaid Tavern stood upon the site now occupied by No. 39 Bow Lane, which is at present called the Old Watling Restaurant, at the South-east corner of the Watling Street and Bow Lane crossing. This is one of the most interesting houses left in the City of London, and was built shortly after the Fire; and, by some miraculous protection of its somewhat secluded position, has so far escaped the destroyer. As a rule the site of an old tavern is occupied by a modern building, and we have to be content with some details of its past history: in this case we have an interesting old building, but there is very little to record about its past. The following plan and accompanying note are taken from Mills and Oliver's Survey (Vol. III, Guildhall MS.).—

I sett out for Mr. George Lowe at corner of Bowe Lane and in Watling Street which was the Mermaid Taverne, 7th July 1669, as designed below." (See plate).

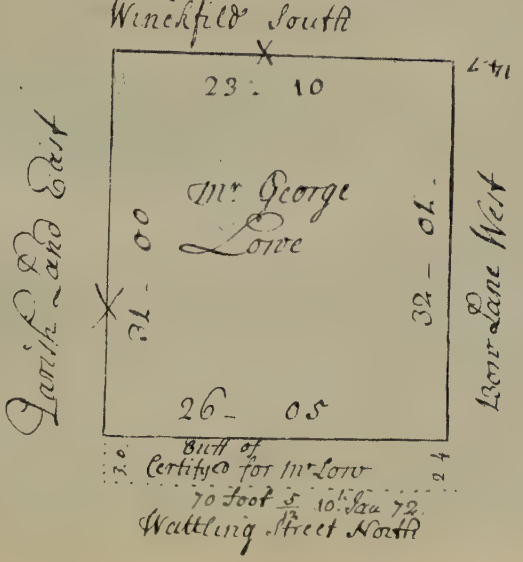
This seems clearly to place the Mermaid on the site now occupied by the "Old Watling" tavern.

In the Vintner's Company records there is this entry:—

Sept. 1644, Sarah Powell, widow, dwelling at the Mairmaid in Bow Lane was fined for a deceitful mixture found in her cellar.

I find the following entries of Powells in the registers of St. Mary Aldermary, and it will be observed that the description of John Powell's dwelling agrees with the Mermaid's position at the corner.

Sett out one found for Mr George Lowe at corner of Bow Lane in Watling street nth was the Mermaid Tavarne ỹ 7th of July 1669 as designed below




THE MERMAID TAVERN, BOW LANE.

Plan from Mills and Oliver's Survey, showing that the Mermaid Tavern was at the corner of Bow Lane and Watling Street, where the old house now stands.

*To face page 72.*

Baptisms:—

1616. John son of Hugh Powell (probably he was later on the issuer of the token).

1641. Andrew, son of John Powell, vintner, dwelling in Watling Street and Bowe Lane.

1646. John, son of John Powell, vintner, dwelling in Bowe Lane or Watling Street.

1647. Joseph, son of John Powell, vintner, by Sarah his wife.

This Sarah, wife of John Powell, cannot have been the Sarah Powell, widow, who was fined in 1644. The deceitful widow was probably the mother of John Powell.

1647. Sarah, wife to Mr. John Powell, vintner, was buried.

1654. Samuell son of John Powell by Ann his wife (baptised). Here we get the initials "I.A.P." of the token of 1652.

1657. Henry Powell servant to Mr. John Powell, vintner, buried.

1661. (bapt.) Joseph son of John Powell by Ann his wife.

1661. "Mr. John Powell, vintner, from Newington" (buried).

1661. Oct. 9th, Ann Powell widow of John Powell, vintner (buried).

John Powell was one of the searchers of the Vintner's Company in 1658 (Rep. 66).

I have seen the original will of Sara Powell at Somerset House. 1645. To be buried in Aldermary Church near her husband. Bequests to her children, which include (as well as money) her two scarlett petticoates, her best Callimanco gowne and petticoate, her silke grogram gowne and best beever hatt. To her son John Powell (who has had the greatest portion of all her children) for a remembrance of her love, fifty shillings to buy him "sixe silver spoones," and appoints him sole executor.

This interesting old house is well worth a visit; it adjoins the Church-yard of St. Mary Aldermary on the north side (No. 39 Bow Lane), and is only a few minutes walk from the Mansion House station. It has not been a tavern continuously since the Fire, for the 1841 P.O. Directory does not give it as licensed premises. The notes given above show however that it represents the old "Mermaid Tavern."

"Mue (from the Fr. *Muer*, to change) a kind of Cage, where Hawks are wintered or kept when they *mue* or change their feathers; whence those great Stables belonging to Whitehall took denomination, that place having been antiently full of *Mues* where the Kings Hawks were kept."

Spring Gardens became a fashionable resort in the reign of Charles I, where rich idlers were attracted by a bowling green and other amusements. There was an 'Ordinary' there, and it is possible that "the Mermaid" supplied this with the wine required. Morden and Lea's Map, 1682, marks Mermaid Court, almost opposite the gate into the Mews, and Hatton, 1708, mentions 'Mermaid Court, on the S. side of Charing Cross, near the statue.' The 'New Remarks' of London, 1732, suggests that its reputation was then doubtful, for it is called "Mermaid Court or damnation Alley." It is more than likely that heavy gambling took place there amongst its other attractions.

Token: *O.* The Meremad. Against—(a mermaid).
*R.* The Muse Gate. 1650—W.A.F.

In the 1641 poll tax list of Vintners, we find: Geo. Crosse at y^e^ M'maid by Charing Cross.

A William Field was one of the Wardens of the Vintners' Company in 1650-1, and appears in lists of the searchers of the Company between 1650-1655, and he was probably the issuer of the token—Williamson and Boyne (beneath this token) quote the London Gazette of April 1669, concerning a permission by the King to hold Plate Lotteries:—

"Grant to the Truly Loyal and Necessitous Officers . . . who have served him, and his Royall Father of blessed Memory . . . One or more Plate-Lotteries," and it adds that the King "was pleased . . . to be personally present on Monday last, at the Grand Plate Lottery, which by his Majesties command was then opened, at the sign of the Mermaid over against the Mewes."

It is interesting to note that in the New Guide to London, 1726, in English and French, in the rates for hackney coaches, Charing Cross is described in French as "le

Cheval de Bronze." The Statue of Charles I. is now somewhat lost in Trafalgar Square, and this note serves to remind us that it was for a long time a very important landmark in the street between Whitehall, the Strand and the Mews.

### The Mermaid Tavern in Cornhill.

Token: (729) *O.* The Mermaid Tavern—(a Mermaid).
*R.* In Cornhill. 1651—W.M.T.

The issuer's name, with initials W.T. was not known to Williamson and Boyne (List of Tokens), but good reasons will be given for believing that he was William Tapping, Vintner, and Mary his wife.

Boniface Tatam, vintner, gave forty shillings yearly to the parson of St. Peter's Cornhill, in 1606, for preaching four sermons every year, so long as the lease of the Mermaid in Cornhill (the tavern so called) should endure . . . also to the poor of the parish thirteen penny loaves every Sunday (Strype). In the registers of St. Peter's, in 1606, we find the burial of " Boniface Tatam, who dwelt in Marke Lane, vintner."

Strype's map, 1720, marks a court in the position of 'the Mermaid,' between Newman's Court and Sun Court on the north side of Cornhill, but does not name it; while Rocque, in 1746, names it Mitre Court, showing that the sign had then been changed. Harben's Dict$^{y}$., 1918, quotes the above reference to the tavern in 1606, but merely adds, " not further identified."

The Parish Boundaries given by Hatton, 1708, definitely fix the site of ' the Mermaid.' In the boundaries of St. Peter's, Cornhill (on the north side of that street) he says that the parish extended westwards to ' the Mermaid Tavern '; and that the parish of St. Michael Cornhill extended eastward ' to within one house of the Mermaid Tavern.' Horwood's map marks No. 73 Cornhill on the east of Newman's Court (which was between 73 and 74)

. . . . and the Mermaid corresponded to No. 72. The numbers have been confused by being run together into large modern buildings, and the Union Bank of Australia is now numbered 71, but includes, apparently, the old numbers 70 to 72. The boundary of the parishes is marked on its front, close to the west corner of the Bank—St.M.C., and St.P.C., which locates the west end of the Mermaid Tavern. As the boundary mark is not at the corner of the Bank, that building would seem to include some part of the old number 73 as well. The position is close to Newman's Court, which still exists west of No. 73.

The Hall of the Merchant Taylor's Company lies to the north of Newman's Court (and the site of the Mermaid) and Mr. H. L. Hopkinson kindly showed me a plan of their property in which "the little garden" is marked behind Newman's Court, and 'the Mermaid Tavern' is shown east of the Court, and extending back to the "Ante-room" of the Company's Hall. The cellars of the Mermaid extended beneath the Anteroom.

Newman's Court was named from L. Newman, to whom the Company leased the property there in 1664, but reserved the passage into Cornhill (Hopkinson). The same authority states that his name was Laurence Newman. This name is not mentioned in the St. Michael Cornhill registers, but a Lionel Newman is often mentioned: his wife Elizabeth was buried in 1657, and he had children baptised from 1637 to 1655.

In Mr. Clode's interesting account of the Merchant Taylor's Company, there is an extract from their records, concerning the visit of King James the 1st in 1607, which mentions an adjoining Tavern. He suggests that it was the Star or the Grasshopper, but the Star was surely too far east (by Bishopsgate Street). Mr. Hopkinson thinks it was the Cock (an ancient brewhouse on the west of the Company's Hall). It seems to me that it may refer

to the Mermaid? "The brick wall to be raised which adjoineth to the Taverne, to take away the prospect of such as use to walke upon the leades of the Tavern and thereby woulde overlooke the Garden." King James was always afraid of assassination, and it may be that this was partly the reason of the desire for privacy in the garden.

### The Vintners at the Mermaid.

There were several important taverns in St. Peter's parish, but 'the Mermaid' appears to have been the only one of note in the small portion of Cornhill within that parish. It is therefore fairly safe to assume that the vintners mentioned "in Cornhill" (in the parish registers) were at the Mermaid.

William Tatam was buried in 1606.

1606. In this year were buried "An Obortive the sonn of William Jansonne Vintner dwellinge in Cornhill," and also his servant, Wm. Charlton. In 1608 was baptised "John J'ansonne the sonne of William J'ansonne, Vintner, dwellinge in Cornhill," and in 1610, a daughter Katherine. In 1611, his son John was buried. 1617, "Buried James Symondes servante to Mr. J:Anson, the saide s$^{r}$v$^{t}$ stabbed himselfe w$^{th}$ a knyfe, pit in the east yeard w$^{th}$out Service." In 1616, his servant John King was buried, "his pit in the West Yearde. Coff. 3 bell 1 How$^{r}$" In 1618, his servant Umphery Yeates was buried. In 1619 Mary J:anson was married to Wm. Hawkins. William Janson was a searcher for the Vintners' Company in 1607, and to 1619.

*Thomas Whaly.*

1620. baptised, "Deborah the daughter of Thomas Whaly, Vintn$^{r}$ and Debborah his wife Dwelling in Cornhill at ye Mermayd." 1621, "Thomas the sonne of Thomas Whaly Vintner and of Debora his wife dwelling in Cornhill"; and a daughter Anna in 1622. In 1622 was buried "Elizabeth Fry s$^{r}$vant to Thomas Whalie vintner," and in 1625 (the great plague year), his servant Johan Mare.

Thomas Wastall, vintner, is mentioned in 1628.

" Thomas Wastell vintener hath in his celler at the Mermaide in Cornhill Seaven Tonnes and a halfe of Spanish and Sweete wines and fower Tonnes of french wines eager, decayed and defective."[1]

" Thomas Wastall, Vintner, dwelling in Cornhill," had children baptised at St. Peter's between 1627 and 163 In 1634, " Thomas a poore child laid at Mr Wastell's doare " was baptised.

From 1643 onwards there are many entries of children of William Tappin and Mary his wife, and as the tokens were first issued in 1648-9, I think that he was the issuer of the Mermaid token with the initials W.M.T., with which his wife's name also corresponds. His marriage took place in 1640 at St. Michael's Cornhill. " William Toppen of St. Peter's and Mary Sewthelee (Southerley) of this par: by lic."

John and Mary, children of Wm. Tappin, vintner, were baptised at St. Peter's in 1643 and 1644, James in 1644, John 1647, and other children up to 1651. In 1653 he appears to have moved to St. Michael's parish, probably to the Fleece tavern (for a Fire Decree states that the Fleece was leased to Wm. Tapping in 1653), and " William Tapping, vintner . . . feaver " was buried at St. M. C. in 1658. In 1661 " Anne d. of Mary Tapping, widow, and of William her late husband decd." was buried; and in the Plague Year, 1665, " Widow Tappin, in the churchyd."

Since writing the above notes I find a confirmation that Tapping was the issuer of the token, in the 1641 Vintners' poll list :—" Wm. Tapping at ye M'maid in Cornhill."

William Wise, vintner, and Frances his wife, had a son, William, buried " in ye Midle Ile " in 1662, and a daughter Claree, bapt. in 1663 at St. P. C., and he probably succeeded Tappin? He is in the Hearth Tax lists 1662-3 and 1668, in Cornhill. The St. M. C. registers have a quaint entry in 1620:—

Robert Averell and Clemence Northroop (married):—" ye preist and clarke had never a penie for ye labor, but did goe to ye Mearemaid and spent 2s. for ye dinner."

[1] Eager is the English of *aigre*—sour—and occurs in " vinegar."

They apparently went to this expense as a sort of protest to show their independence!

The Skinners' Company in 1656, "Paid for a Dynner at the Mearemaide in Cornhill att the choice of the lord Maior—11li. 9s. 6d."; and on Oct. 6th had another dinner there, for the Committee of the Lord Mayor's Show.

The Poulters' Company, in 1663—"Paid which was spent yesterday at the Mermaide Taverne in Cornhill with Mr. Miller—1s."; and they record another payment there in 1667.

A story concerning Dun, the vintner at the Mermaid in Cornhill, is related in "Coffee House Jests" (quoted by Burn and Larwood):—

> One evening when Dun was in a room with some witty gallants, one who it seems knew his wife too boldly, in a fantastic humour, cried out, "I'll lay five pounds, there's a cuckold in this company?" "'Tis Dun!" said another.

The "jest," was perhaps invented to fit the name. I cannot find any record of a vintner named Dun (or Donne) in St. Peter's parish. A token was issued by "William Done at the fleece in Tuttle Street, Westminster," in 1666; and perhaps this was the scene of the jest?

Gifford says, in a note to Ben Jonson's mention of the Globes and Mermaids, that "the Mermaid Tavern" was in Cornhill—but he gives no reason for supposing that Ben did not refer to the Bread Street tavern.

It is worthy of note that "the Mermaid" in Cornhill is the only Mermaid Tavern mentioned in the Elizabethan list (News from Bartholomew Fair), though the Bread Street Mermaid is the only one in the forty permitted in 1553.

In the Hearth Tax lists of Cornhill, of 1662 and 1668, William Wise was assessed on 13 hearths, and as I have shown that he was in St. Peter's Parish and a vintner, he was almost certainly at the Mermaid. Adjoining him in the lists are Richard Thorowgood, 13, Richard Norton Esq., 22, and John Bathurst, 13. Both Bathurst and

Norton were Aldermen and Linendrapers in Cornhill. "The Mearmaid" is one of the taverns in Cornhill mentioned in the list of 1690-98.

### The Mermaid Tavern in Paternoster Row.

Though its position was an important one, near the great Cathedral, this Mermaid does not appear to have been a noted house. There were two tokens issued:—

(2189). *O.* Ye Mearmayd Tavern—(a Mermaid).
*R.* In Paternoster Roe—S.E.B.

(2190). *O.* The Mer. Mayde Tavern—(a Mermaid).
*R.* In Pater Noster Row—R.I.F.

Strype, 1720, marks Mermaid Alley on the North side of Paternoster Row, close to the corner of Warwick Lane, in which it had another entrance nearly opposite the Oxford Arms Inn. Akerman quotes the petition of Anthony Clarke after the Fire, who stated that the Mermaid "was formerly a dark and back-house of small custom."

The Poulters' Company record a payment in 1639 "att the Mairemaid in Paternoster Row when Mr. Rayment's man att the trumpett was made free." In the Survey after the Fire (Oliver and Mills), the site of a house, evidently the Mermaid Tavern, was marked out for "Mr. Anthony Clarke now Francis Copping." There was a narrow passage from Paternoster Row to the yard and also "an entry or passage from the Taverne into Warwick Lane with a vault lying under the house and three cellars extending to Warwick Lane on the west." A Silvester Ball was assessed on 10 hearths in Castle Baynard Ward in 1662, and was possibly the issuer of the first token.

### The Mermaid in Red Cross Street (Cripplegate.)

A farthing token was issued at this house by Thomas Ballett, but I have nothing further to record, nor do I know whether it was a tavern. The only reason for

mentioning it is that it was near the Fortune Theatre (between White Cross Street and Golden Lane), and may have been visited by the players. Henslowe's Diary, 1602, records a payment " at the Mermayd " in 1602, " toward our super the some of ixs," with my Lorde of Worsters players, " when we were at our agrement," but this may have been the Cheapside or Aldersgate tavern, which were not far away, or perhaps the Bread Street house.

The Mermaid Tavern on Ludgate Hill. This house, evidently situated between the old gate (Ludgate) and Fleet bridge, has a token, issued by " S.H.G." in 1652, but I find nothing further to record about it.

### The Mermaid in Wood Street.

This sign was probably changed early in the 17th century, and possibly to " the Mitre," of which I find no early records. I have only two notices to record, both from the Repertories. In 1609 some defective wine was " presented " At the Mermaide in Woodstreete, and again in 1612, belonging to " John Sedgwick, vintner, at the Mermayd in Woodstreete." Probably the sign was too near the better known Mermaid in Cheapside for convenience.

### The Mermaid Inn, Carter Lane.

It is worthy of remark that, in Old London, the signs of ' the Mitre ' and ' the Mermaid ' were adopted, almost without exception, for taverns and not for inns. The Carter lane house is, I believe, the only exception of any note among the Mermaids. It stood a short distance west of Bell Yard, close to the north-west corner of Addle Hill, and in this case the sign may have had some connection with the mansion of the Earls of Berkeley, not far distant in Thames Street, whose badge was a mermaid. The inn is marked in O. and M., Strype, and Rocque's map. Taylor, 1637, mentions the Mermaid in Carter lane as the house for carriers from Gloucester, Woodstock and from Wantage

THE MITRE TAVERN.

*To face p.* 83.

(Berks). Hatton (1708), gives "Mermaid Court and Inn, on the S. side of Great Carter lane near Addle Hill." I have nothing to record of this inn beyond the fact that a letter to Secretary Coke was addressed from the Mermaid Carter lane, in 1632 (State Papers). For a long period after the murder of Edward II. at Berkeley Castle near Gloucester in 1327, many thousands of pilgrims visited his shrine in the Cathedral, and it may be that this inn, and the Saracen's Head and Bell inns, in Friday Street, were starting places for pilgrims from London. The 'New Inn' at Gloucester is said to have been built for their accommodation, and has happily been preserved. John Taylor mentioned ten Mermaids and ten Mitre taverns in his day in London. I have given some notes on eleven Mermaid taverns and one inn. There was also a Mermaid in New Fish Street, and another in Fleet Street, but I have nothing of interest to record concerning them and will now proceed to the Mitre taverns.

## MITRE TAVERNS IN OLD LONDON.

### The Mitre Tavern in Cheapside.

This was one of the most celebrated taverns in Old London, and may be ranked with the Pope's Head in Lombard Street, the King's Head in New Fish Street, the Bear at the Bridge foot, Southwark, and the Mermaid in Bread Street. It was probably the oldest of the many 'Mitre' taverns.

It will be seen that most if not all of the older houses bearing this sign were closely connected with one or other of the Religious Houses, or occupied sites which had belonged to some Bishop or Abbot before the Reformation, The Mitre in Cheap belonged to, and adjoined the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, founded in memory of the famous Archbishop and Martyr, Thomas Becket, who was born close to its site. Before dealing with the Mitre tavern,

which stood close to the Great Conduit and the Church of St. Mary Colechurch at the east end of Cheapside, it is necessary to say a few words about 'Mitre Court' at No. 18 on the *south* side of Cheapside, for it has been frequently assumed that the Mitre Tavern stood there. Harben (Dict. of London, 1918) says:—"Mitre Court, south of Cheapside at No. 18. . . . The Mitre tavern stood here. An old tavern in existence before 1475, burnt in the Fire and not rebuilt. The court commemorated its name." Cunningham however, in 1849, wrote: "I believe it to be the same with the Mitre in Bread Street, and that Gifford is right when he says that it was 'not improbably the corner house.'" Wheatley, in 'London Past and Present' says:—

> "It was the same with the Mitre in Bread Street, and Gifford supposes that it was 'not improbably the corner house.' But more probably like other taverns in Cheap, it lay back from the main thoroughfare and was approached by a passage, another passage affording an entrance from Bread Street."

If the reader of these notes will refer to the account of "the Mermaid" in Bread Street, he will find that almost identical suggestions were made concerning the site of that house, but it will be seen (as in the case of the Mermaids) that there were two separate Mitre taverns, one on Bread Street hill and the other in Cheapside near Mercer's Hall. Mitre Court, at 18 Cheapside, probably commemorates a later Mitre Tavern. The old Mitre by Mercer's Hall (opposite the Great Conduit) does not appear to have been rebuilt as a tavern after the Fire, but the list of London taverns in 1698 includes "the Mitre" in Cheapside, which perhaps stood in the position of the Court, but I find nothing to record concerning it. Mitre Court, Cheapside, is not named in Ogilby and Morgan's Map, 1677, and is not mentioned by Hatton, 1708, or in "New Remarks of London," 1732, in their lists of Streets and Courts. The earliest reference to it given by Harben is by W. Stow, 1722, but

I find it mentioned in 1704, in the St. Vedast's registers:—"A female child of Francis Watkins a Jueller Liveing in in Miter Court in Goldsmiths Row in Cheapside in this Parish" (baptised)—Goldsmiths Row included most of the houses between Old Change and Bread Street. It was necessary to consider the claims of Mitre Court as the site of the old 'Mitre in Cheap,' though many years ago Sir John Watney, in his history of St. Thomas of Acon, and Milbourn in his history of St. Mary Colechurch (1872), gave several early references to the Mitre tavern by Mercers' Hall. It will be shown that the claim of this tavern to be *the* Mitre in Cheap can be established by the names of the vintners in the 17th century, and the fresh notes concerning them are perhaps the most important feature of this account. So much for Mitre Court at 18, Cheapside.

Burn (whose statements are repeated by Williamson and Boyne) in his account of the London Tokens (pp. 64, 65), apparently assumed that the Mitre stood at 'Mitre Court,' but his notes are very confused. He quotes the play of 'Sir Thomas More,' where Robin says:—

"Faith, Harrie, the head drawer at the Miter by the great conduite, called me up," and continued thus:—"an error that may baffle future commentators. The 'great conduite' here alluded to was the western conduit, situated at the upper end of Old Change, and not the really great conduit . . . at the east end of Cheap."

Burn next refers to an old play by Wilkins in which the third Act is laid at the Mitre tavern in Bread Street, and adds that the tavern indiscriminately bore the appellations of "the Mitre in Cheape," and the "Mitre in Bread Street," and was evidently connected with these well-known thoroughfares by long entries. It will be shown that the Mitre in Bread Street stood on Bread Street Hill, near Thames Street.

Naturally, in a book on tokens, Burn was anxious to discover the name of the issuer of the Cheapside 'Mitre'

token (on which the initials only are given, 'T.D.'), and suggested that he was Thomas Dainty. He says:—"T.D. was possibly the issuer of the Mitre tavern token in 1649, or soon after, and relinquished it for 'the Jackanapes,' a neighbouring tavern. . . . . Richard Smith, in his Obituary . . . . notices, 'June 4th 1652, died Tho. Dainty, at the Jack-a-Napes, in Cheapside.' If this surmise be correct, his successor at the Mitre was not long-lived, as the same record mentions, 'May 17th, 1654, died Mr. Scattergood, vintner, at the Mitre, Cheapside.'" Hilton Price appears to have accepted the accuracy of Burn's surmise, for he wrote (in his list of signs in Cheapside) concerning the Mitre:—1649, Thomas Dainty issued a farthing token. Scattergood's name was evidently a valuable clue to the position of the Cheapside Mitre, and, as the registers of St. Vedast did not mention him, I then examined those of St. Mary Colechurch, in which I found John Scattergood's name, and also discovered that Thomas Dudley was almost certainly the T.D. of the token. The names of the vintners in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, which church adjoined "the Mitre" by Mercers' Hall, afforded sufficient evidence that this house was *the* "Mitre in Cheap."

The position of this house in Cheapside, a street of the greatest importance through the centuries when London had a tremendous influence on the affairs of the country, gave it a special celebrity. It overlooked the route of the pageants, and was close to two of the great City Companies or Guilds, the Mercers and the Grocers; in addition to this it was closely connected with the Ancient Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, which was founded by the sister of the murdered Archbishop, Thomas Becket. It is probable that the sign of the 'Mitre' was here adopted in memory of Becket, whose shrine at Canterbury was for long the goal of countless pilgrims. There Edward the Black Prince and King John of France halted (on their

journey from Dover to London) to make their offerings at the sacred shrine, and also Henry V. on his return from Agincourt . . . . . these incidents are worth recalling here, for it is certain that the Saints' birthplace would be regarded with peculiar veneration for centuries.

The curious Elizabethan rhymed enumeration of fifteen important London taverns only mentions "the Mitre" and "the Bull Head" in Cheap, and thus affords important evidence that they were the chief taverns there:—the Mermaid, the Feathers, the Star, and the Nag's Head are not mentioned. Both Ben Jonson and Middleton place scenes in their plays at the 'Mitre.' It is true that they do not actually specify 'the Mitre in Cheap'— - - - but on the whole we seem almost justified in supposing that 'the Mitre,' without the addition of the name of a street, meant the house in Cheap. It is a point on which there can never be complete certainty, for it will be seen that the Bread Street tavern has also good claims. The earliest record that I have found of a visit to the Mitre in Chepe is in the books of the Pewtererers' Company in 1461; while in 1466 the Churchwardens of St. Michael's Cornhill went there with their parson.

The Great Conduit stood opposite the end of Bucklersbury, and almost opposite Mercers' Chapel. In the Cartulary of St. Thomas of Acon, the Hospital is described in 1268 as 'near the Conduit.' The Mitre stood to the east of the entrance to the Hospital, and adjoined St. Mary Colechurch, which was at the south-west corner of Old Jewry; this church was not rebuilt after the Fire.

I have mentioned that Richard Smyth's Obituary, (printed by the Camden Society, 1849), records the death of "Mr. Scattergood, vintner, at ye Miter Cheapside," in 1654. In the Parish Registers of St. Mary Colechurch I found the following entries:—

1651. Wm. Shorter servt. to Mr. Scattergood—buried.
1654. "John Scattergood, Vintner, was buried the 20th May 1654 at St. Hellens."

In the Registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, there are entries of the burial of two children of John Scattergood, in 1648, and 1652, and in 1654 of " John Scattergood vintner out of Cheapside, in the Church a little from the poore men's box . . . . . consumption."

In the Vestry accounts of St. Mary Colechurch we find John Scattergood appointed scavenger in 1651; in 1652 he was mentioned in a list of assessments in the parish; and again in 1653. In the records of the Vintners' Company, John Scattergood appears in 1648; while in an interesting MS. list at the Record Office, he is mentioned as one of the journeymen to Thomas Dudley, vintner, in St. Mary Colechurch parish.

The list referred to is undated, but the Record Office attributes it to 1641.[1] It is not a long list, and here are a few of the persons named (with their journeymen):—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Grocer— | + | Mr. Maneringe Comon Councellor. |
| Skiner | | Timo. Carell. Jorneymen. |
| Clothworker | | Wm. Pullen. |
| Grocer— | + | Mr. Boxe. |
| Grocers— | | Nath: Snell. Jorneymen. |
| | | Henry Currells. |
| Haberdasher | + | Mr. Rich. Coventree. |
| | | Edwd. Hamnor Jorneyman. |
| Vintner— | + | Mr. Dudley. |
| Vintners— | | John Skattergood. Jorneymen. |
| | | James Hedges. |

This list is of interest for several reasons:—in confirmation of the Parish Registers, it definitely places John Scattergood ' Vintner of the Mitre in Cheapside ' in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch; and suggests that Mr. Dudley was the vintner at the Mitre in Cheap. The question of the name of the issuer of the Cheapside Mitre token, with the initials ' T.D.', has been much discussed, but without any certain attribution up to now.

[1] *Lay Subsidies*, 252/6.

This is the inscription of the token:

(579) *O.* At the Mitr. In Cheap—(a Mitre).
*R.* Side. Forget Not—T.D.

The words 'Forget not' are both unusual and curious on a token: this is the motto of the Duke of Argyll, and it is worth noting that the Earl of Argyll placed the crown on Charles II's head at Scone, Jan. 1st, 1651. Possibly it was Dudley's own motto. If the words referred to the King's execution, the issuer was bold!

Thomas Dudley was no doubt the 'T.D.' of the token, and in the Parish Registers of St. Mary Colechurch there are the following entries:[1]

1616. Thomas Dudley of the Parish of St. Margaret in Newe Fishe Street and Bridgett Hodson servant with Mr. Frithe were married, 3 Dec.

1623. Fraunces Dudley the daughter of Thomas Dudley and Bridgett his wife—(baptised).

1628. Francis Dudley son of Thomas Dudley and Bridgett—bapt.

1637. Bridget Dudley the wife of Thomas Dudley was buried in Mercers' Chapel.

Thomas Dudley appears in lists in the Vintners' Company records in 1631 and 1638; and in 1632 and other years was one of the searchers of the Vintners' Company.

Since writing the above notes, I have found a complete confirmation of my suggestion, in the 1641 poll-tax list of the Vintners' Company, in which "Tho: Dudley at ye Miter in Cheap" is mentioned.

A comparison of the lists of assessments in the St. Mary Colechurch parish records[2] shows that the occupier of "the Mitre" follows Mercers' Hall in the lists (though occasionally the occupiers of the four shops, above which the Mitre stood, are given between the Hall and the Mitre).

[1] For permission to examine these, and also the records of St. Mildred Poultry, etc., I am much indebted to the Rector of St. Margaret Lothbury.

[2] Guildhall, MS. 67, etc.

Dudley's name follows Mercers' Hall from 1628 to 1642; John Scattergood took his place 1643-1647; Thomas Dudley reappeared 1648-1650; then John Scattergood 1651-1654. The reappearance of Thomas Dudley in 1648 is curious, and perhaps he took some active part during the troubles of the time, and his assistant carried on during his absence? The Churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary Colechurch give some further information about the occupiers of the adjacent "Mitre" tavern—(though it must be understood that "the Mitre" is not mentioned by name)—

Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary Colechurch.[1]

1612. Henry Frythe is assessed at 5s. and signs the book as Churchwarden (it has been already mentioned that T. Dudley married Mr. Frith's servant). Henry Fryth appears in the lists of searchers of the Vintners' Company from 1608 onwards, and in 1620-21, is mentioned as Warden.[2]

In the Vestry Minutes of 1618, it was "agreed that Henry Fryth having borne the office of sydman, skavinger, and churchwarden one year and is to be churchwarden one year more shall give unto the parish for the good of the Church the somme of 8 pounds, to be freed from all offices in the parish hereafter."

1615. 11s. 8d. was received of Mr. Fryth for the burial of his wife, and in 1617, "recd. of Mr. Frith for ground in the entrie, the knell and the black cloth for his Manes Buriall, 9s."

In 1618 Henry Fryth again appears next Mercers' Hall in the list—and both pay 6s., which is the largest assessment.

1622. Mr. Frith was paid for wine and bread, and signed the book in a bold hand.

In the will of John Pinder, who kept the Mitre before

[1] Guildhall MS. 67.

[2] Repertory 35, fo. 52, Guildhall.

Henry Fryth, it will be seen that he speaks of the latter as his kinsman, and bequeaths to him the lease of his dwelling house in Westcheape. A disappointing feature of the old wills is that the testators rarely mention the signs of their houses.

1624. Henry Fryth again appeared in the seventh place, next Mercers' Hall, in an assessment list, and was paid for bread and wine for the church. He evidently married again, for his widow paid for his burial in this year:— Dec. 15th. "Recd. of M^ris Frith for her husband 11s. 8d." (burial).

1625. M^ris Frith, widdow, appears after Mercers' Hall, in a list, and again in 1626. Thomas Dudley evidently occupied the 'Mitre' from 1628 onwards. 1628. Recd. for Mr. Dudlyes daughter buriall dutyes; and "recd. for Mr. Dudlyes Mayd being buried in the new churchyard."

"Item, pd. to Mr. Dudley for wine for the Sacraments, 3.6.4."

Thomas Dudley now follows Mercers' Hall in a list of parish assessments, and again in 1629.

1630. "Given to three souldiers and a poore woman having the Kings Evill, 1s." This was the disease known formerly as *Scrofula*, with enlarged glands in the neck etc., for which the Kings "touched" the sufferers. The "touch-piece" was a small gold replica of the Angel coin.

1631. Edward Basse the elder Churchwarden—"pd. to myself towards the meeting dinner, and to Mr. Dudley £3 0. 0. for wine." 1634. Rich^d Utber (churchwarden), "recd. £5. 0. 0. from Mr. Tho. Dudley for a fine to free himself from his last years being Counstable." 1636. Thos. Dudley was upper Churchwarden. 1638. Rec^d. a payment "for the buriall of Mr. Dudley's wife." The following entries are typical of this period:—

"Given to a pore woman that her husband was taken by the Turkes, 6d." "Given to a decayed pore strainge scoller," 1s.

" Given to a pore woman that had a wolfe in her breast, 1s. 6d." (This was an old term for a cancer). Mr. Dudley is again paid for wine for the church, and in 1640 is 7th in the list, following Mercers' Hall.

1639. Randall Pickering (churchwarden) for the first time mentions the ' Mitre ' by name: " Pd. at the Miter for bread, beare and wine 18s. 10d." " Pd. for 2 pullets, mutton, bakinge ye venison, . . . . . 9s.;" and again in 1639, " Pd. and spent at the Mitre, 2s."

1644-5. A legacy of £35 having been left to the church, the churchwardens entered into a bond concerning it " with Richd. Mayor, vintner, at the three tuns near Guildhall, he being a knowne and sufficient surety." (The Three Tuns Tavern, on the east of Guildhall Gate, was an important house, and Richard Mayor, or Major, a leading vintner).

1642. Mr. Thomas Dudley still appears; but in 1643 to 1647 Mr. John Scattergood takes his place in the lists after the Mercers' Hall. In 1645-6 Mr. Scattergood was paid for wine at Communions; in 1647 a small payment ' at ye Miter ' is recorded. Thomas Dudley reappears in the lists (next to the Mercers' Hall) in 1648-9.—" Payd Mr. Thomas Dudley for 4 gallons Muskedell and one quart, and Bread, for four Sacrament dayes, 1li. 1s. 2d."

Mr. Nicholas rented one of the four shops under the Mitre Tavern, and the following entry is interesting as it shows the position, close to the Great Conduit:—May 1648, " Payd for Iron, Lead and 2 staples to fasten the Great Cheaine at ye Cundite to Mr. Nicholas Shopp, 4s.; and a great Post for ye Cheaine at Mr. Nicholas his Dore being 10 foote." The four shops are shown in a list of assessments in 1649 . . . . . after Mr. Box and the Mercers' Chapel there follow:—Mr. Nicholas shop 2s., Mr. Williams shop 2s., Mr. Hodsall shop 1s., Mr. Rumball shop, 2s. 4d., Mr. Dudley 8s.

Later in 1648-9, Mr. Dudley again appears. In examin-

ing the Wardmote Register of St. Dunstan's West (Fleet Street), I found John Scattergood amongst the Vintners there in 1649 and 1650—the period of the reappearance of Thomas Dudley—he came back to the Mitre in Cheap in 1650, for his name is in an assessment list, and he is paid for Communion wine in that year. In 1651 Mr. Scattergood again replaces Mr. Dudley and follows the Mercers' Hall in the lists up to 1654-5, in which year he died.

In December 1654, Mr. Christopher Durban takes Scattergood's place, and in a list of this year there are two names close together—John Heath and Foulke Denny—whose initials correspond with those on the tokens of the Three Tuns and the George "against the Great Conduit." The four shops under the Mitre were kept in this year by Nicholas, Williams, Thomas the bookseller shop, and Oliver. The 'bookseller shop' is the one assessed at 1s., and is worth noticing as it was doubtless the shop where Thomas Guy, the founder of Guy's Hospital, was apprenticed in 1660 (to Mr. John Clarke).

Christopher Durban appears until 1658; in 1659 Mr. Putchin takes his place after Mercers' Hall, and there is a payment to Mr. Durban's widow "for wine at several times fetched the last yeare, 1. 8. 0." From 1659 to 1666 Francis Putchin, or Pochin, is paid each year for Communion wine, and his name appears after the Mercers' Hall in the lists. Francis Pochin is in a list of searchers of the Vintners' Company in 1661-2. In a Hearth Tax list of 1662-3 (Record Office), Francis Puchin came after the Mercers' Company in the Precinct of St. Mary Colechurch, and was assessed on 10 hearths. In the Vestry Minutes of St. Mary Colechurch, I find that he ran quickly through the parish offices, very much as his predecessors at the Mitre had done (Henry Frith, Thomas Dudley etc.). In 1660 Francis Putchin was on the Vestry,

in 1661 a sidesman, in 1664 Scavenger, 1665 Constable, and in 1666 Churchwarden. In this year, after the Fire, it was agreed "that Mr. Ralph Box receive of Mr. Pochin the Bell Mettall." The lead and iron, recovered from the ruins after being melted by the fierce heat of the fire, were sold by the churchwardens of the various churches to assist in the cost of rebuilding.

I find that Francis Pochin issued a halfpenny token at the Queen's Head Tavern at Holborn Bridge. After the destruction of the Mitre in 1666, and the decision of the Mercers' Company not to rebuild the tavern, he evidently moved further west. The delightful diarist, Pepys, only once mentions the Cheapside Mitre—most of his allusions to 'the Mitre' are to Dan Rawlinson's tavern in Fenchurch Street—the one reference he makes to the Mitre in Chepe confirms its position near Old Jewry:

Nov. 25th, 1661. "Went to the Opera . . . . . and there found Mr. Sanchy and Mrs. Mary Archer, sister to the fair Betty, whom I did admire at Cambridge, and thence took them to the Fleece in Covent Garden . . . . . but Mr. Sanchy could not by any agreement get his lady to trust herself with him into the tavern, which he was much troubled at, and so we returned immediately into the City by coach; and at the Mitre in Cheapside there 'light and drank, and then set her at her uncle's in the Old Jewry, and so he and I back again thither, and drank till past 12 at night, till I had drank something too much. He all the while telling me his intention to get a girl who is worth £1000, and many times we had her sister Betty's health, whose memory I love. At last parted, and I well home, only had got cold and was hoarse and so to bed."

Pepys, with his prolonged chatter and 'healths' bringing on a sudden hoarseness, leaves us one amusing memory of the Old Mitre.—I will now give extracts from various records concerning the tavern.

In Thomas Milbourne's history of St. Mildred Poultry and St. Mary Colechurch, some interesting records are quoted.

St. Mary Colechurch. (P.R.O., Augmentation office).

1551-2. "The fyfth year of the reigne of the Kings Maieste that nowe is, was Churchwardens Wyllyam Wyotte grocer and Thomas Lowe Vintner, and was soulde in their tymes by the wholle consente of all the p'ishoners . . . . . in presence of sayd p'ish" (certain church plate etc.) "which was vewed and esteemed by theym at xxxvli. . . . . and more they dyd not value the same"—(they agreed that it should be sold) "among theymselfs . . . . . to cover the sayde church fron the Raigne and to amend the vaute thereof beinge decayed over the Mytto$^{r}$ Cello$^{r}$ where on the foundacion of the p'sh Churche dothe stande upon" . . . . . "I Wyllyam Wyotte late Churchwarden . . have charged my successor Thomas Lowe nowe upper churchwarden."

Thomas Lowe, the Vintner, purchased some 'vestments and a canape of fustyan' for 40s. St. Mary Colechurch was built upon a vault and had to be entered by a flight of steps from the street level.[1] Certain deeds quoted in the history of the adjacent Hospital and Church of St. Thomas of Acon (by Sir John Watney), give further information about 'the Mitre.' Gilbert Becket, the father of the famous Archbishop Thomas Becket, is supposed to have had a mercer's shop close to the site of Mercers' Hall, and his son is said to have been baptised in St. Mary Colechurch.[2] The hospital of St. Thomas of Acon (or Acre) was closely connected with the 'Mistery' or Company of the Mercers, who finally purchased all its buildings and land after they had been seized by King Henry VIII. The Mitre Tavern belonged to the Master and Brethren of St. Thomas of Acon. In a deed of 1516, May 4th, between John Young—Master of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon and the Brethren of the same house, and Richard Feldyng mercer, the tenement of the Master and Brethren called 'le Myghter' is mentioned.

[1] Stow—Cheap ward.

[2] The earliest reference I have found to the birth-place of Becket is given in Tanner's Notitia, concerning the property of St. Thomas of Acon, Cart. 52 Hen. III, m. 7.—"de mess. in London, et placea illa inter Eccl. S. Olavi et locum ubi S. Thomas nascebatur."

1518. The Master and Brethren of St. Thomas of Acon, grant the Chapel of Mercers' Chapel, and the hall called Mercers' Hall, built over the said Chapel, and all the tenements etc., thereto belonging, in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, between the Mighter, (etc.), . . . . . on the east part, and between the lands and tenements of the prior and convent of St. Mary of Elsyng Spitell (etc., on the west) and between the King's highway of Westcheap on the south part . . . . . and the lands of the said Master and brethren in Ironmonger Lane . . . . . on the North part." The deed further describes the premises: "the said Chapel, hall, lands, etc., contain in length by the street of West cheap from the Mighter on the east to the lands and tenements of the Convent of Elsyng Spitell on the west . . . . . 98 feet, 8 in.; and in breadth on the east part next the Mighter from Westcheap on the south to the Church of St. Thomas on the North, 32 feet." (Watney's History of St. Thomas of Acon).

It is described in 1514 as a tenement called the Myghter, in the tenure of John Sandell, vintner, between the Church of St. Thomas on the West and North, the Church of St. Mary Colechurch on the East and Westcheap on the South.

John Sandell, the vintner mentioned at the 'Mitre' in these deeds from 1514 onwards, held the tavern for many years. He is mentioned in the lists of vintners appointed by the Company to search for defective wines in London in the years 1513, and 1519 to 1525 (Repositories 2 to 4, Guildhall)—see also the Vintners' records in Appendix A.

In 1538 a calculation was made of the value and amount of the metal in the various buildings belonging to the Hospital, which was now the prey of King Henry VIII. The amount is given in fodders, which Blount's Dict., 1661, gives as "a certain weight of lead or tin, about 2,000 lbs. or a Wain-load." Of a total of 84 fodders, the Mercers Chapel accounted for 3, and 'John Sandell's Chapel' 2 fodders . . . . . John Sandell was buried in the Church of St. Thomas in 1532, in the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace in the North side of the church. In 1541, by letters patent under the Great Seal, in consideration of a sum of £969 17s., the reversion of the property of St. Thomas of Acon

was granted to the Mercers' Company—the following extracts concern the Mitre:—

Two shops . . . . " near the tavern called the Mitre, in Cheapside, and between the same tavern on the east part and the said church of the College of Acon on the west part " . . . . . " and also a messuage called the Mitre, and 4 shops under the same . . . . afterwards demised to John Sandell . . . . . and also the Rectory and Church of the Blessed Mary of Colechurch."

The Mitre Tavern in Cheapside stood next to the Church of St. Mary Colechurch, under the floor of which its cellars lay, and the ground floor on the Cheapside frontage was occcupied by four shops, between which was the tavern entrance, and perhaps the rooms overlooking Cheapside (above the shops) belonged to the tavern. In a rental, John Sandall's lease is mentioned:

" John Sendall vintner for the Messuage called the Mytter in Chepe with the 4 shops under . . . . . as by his lease thereof made bearynge date the laste day of March 1516 . . . . . .for LX yeres paying yerely xli." (Watney).

John Sandall appears in the return of the " Wynes remenyng in the tavernes in London " in 1522, and is returned as having ' ix ton.' The return was made to enable the King (Henry VIII) and his ministers to judge whether there would be sufficient for the visit of the Emperor Charles V. and his large retinue of thirsty souls![1]

In a Subsidy list of 1537, I find, " Winifred Sandell, widow," assessed at 40s., in St. Mary Colechurch Parish. Four names separate her from Mercers' Hall.

1543. In a rental of this year of " Landes purchased by the Mercerie of the Kyngs Majeste in Saynte Marye Colchurch," we find " Mysteres Sendall for the greate tenemente or taverne called the Mytter in Chepe . . . . for ½ a yere . . . . . £5 0. 0." (Sir John Watney).

Thomas Lowe, Vintner, whom we have already met as Churchwarden of St. Mary Colechurch in 1551, probably

[1] Rutland Papers—Camden Society, p. 69.

succeeded the Widow Sandall. Thomas Lowe appears to have had a long reign at the Mitre, for in 1578 (during the Elizabethan persecution) there is a list in the State Papers of names and addresses of certain Papists in London, with particulars of those who keep chaplains, attend Mass, etc.,—in which, amongst others, are "Hobson of the Cock in the Poultry, and Mr. Loe, vintner, the Mitre Cheapside, mar[d] Dr. Bouer's sister." (Vol. 7, p. 551). Hobson was the famous haberdasher. I find Lowe's name in the lists of searchers for defective wines in the London cellars in various years between 1550 and 1568, appointed by the Vintners' Company. The following list gives the names of most of the vintners or taverners who occupied the Mitre from about 1510 to the Fire.

Richard Morrys vintner, was buried in the church of St. Thomas of Acon in 1506, and perhaps had the Mitre.

1514-1532. John Sandall, and his widow, Winifred, to about 1543; Thomas Lowe *circ.* 1551-1578; John Pindar, 1578-1608; Henry Frith, 1608-1624; widow Frith; Thomas Dudley 1627-1642; John Scattergood 1643-1647; Thomas Dudley 1648-1650; John Scattergood 1651-1654; Christopher Durban 1654-1658; and Francis Pochin 1659-1666, when the Mitre was destroyed in the Fire.

The Mitre stood about where now the easternmost shops of the Mercers' block of buildings stand, at present occupied by a branch of Jaeger's at No. 85 Cheapside, and Mr. Cuthbertson, the hatter, at No. 84.

In the history of the Pewterers' Company (C. Welch) there are some extracts from their records relating to expenses at the Cheapside Mitre:—

1461. It[m] payed for brede and wyne at the Myter in Chepe 'to a scryvener and for wyne.'

1485. "Payd at Myghter at afternone iid." 1501. It[m] spent at the Mitre in Chepe upon our Compeigny 7d.

In the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael Cornhill,

there is also an early record of a visit to the Mitre:—1466, " Item paied atte Myter in Chepe for the p'son and his men xviiid."

Mr. W. McMurray (" History of Two London Parishes," p. 38), quotes a Bill of Costs incurred by the Wax Chandlers' Company in a lawsuit against St. John Zachary's parish, 1542-4, in which there is this item:—" At the Mytre in Cheape when the Mr. and the Wardens w$^{th}$ the vewers mett ther xijd."

The Poulters' Company record:—1646, Sept. 2. " Spent at the Myter in Cheapside when ye Company attendid at at the Lord Maio$^{rs}$ about Mr. Kynaston " 2s. 5d. (MS., Guildhall).

Amongst the ancient wills in the Court of Husting (quoted in Dr. Sharpe's invaluable volumes) is one of 1311:—Salomon de Lauvere cutler bequeathed to Isabella his wife " a solar extending from the entrance to the Conduit Tavern up to the Wall of St. Thomas de Acon." As 'the Mitre' was by the Conduit, and close to St. Thomas of Acon, it seems highly probable that 'the Conduit Tavern' was its earlier name . . . . . if so, this Will of 1311 gives the 'Mitre in Cheap' the leading position amongst the taverns of Old London from the point of view of recorded seniority.

In the Court Rolls (ed. by Mr. Thomas), Wm. de Conduit, Taverner, is mentioned in 1307.

In the interesting account of the Skinners' Company, by Mr. Wadmore, there is a quaint reference to 'the Mitre' (probably, though not certainly, the Cheapside tavern).

1660-1. " P$^{d}$ June 12 att the Myter taverne being a daye of humiliation which turned to a daye of rejoysing by meanes of faire weather 15s."

It has already been shown that John Sandell, the vintner at the Mitre in Cheap after about 1512, is one of the names given in the return of wines in 1522. In the list of taverns in 1553, shortly after the death of King

Edward VI, amongst the *forty* taverns permitted to remain open by the Act of 7 Ed. VI, "the Myter" in Cheapsyde is one of the number. This interesting list has been given under the Bread Street Mermaid.

I have quoted Strype's account of the deputation of the Vintners' Company in 1594 (see the Mermaid at Aldersgate) when John Pindar, the Master, and two Wardens represented the Company. In 1598 the searchers of the Vintners' Company presented a long list of those persons who had defective wines in their cellars, and some of the most famous taverns in London are named, including: "At the Myter in Cheape—John Pinder Vintner, 1 h.h." The Mitre on Bread Street hill is also in the list. It must have been an invidious task to select the twelve searchers each year (six for the *east* search and six for the *west*), as they were nearly all, at that period, themselves keepers of taverns. The usual amount of wine presented as "defectyve and not holsome for mens bodye" (thus described in 1593) was 1 hogs head. A periodical search was also made by the Wardens of the Tallow Chandlers' Company for the amount of "Eger" wines in the cellars, apparently for use as vinegar (*vin aigre*).

John Pinder, the vintner at the Mitre in Cheap, was one of the many vintners "comytted to pryson in one of the Compters of this Cytie" in 1575, during the dispute with the Common Council about the prices at which wines were to be sold. He was a well-to-do man, for in a Subsidy list of 1596 he heads the list of St. Mary Colechurch parish, with an assessment of £40. (P.R.O. Subsidies, 146/390). In 1599-1600 he was one of the Vintners appointed Governors of Bridewell. He appears in lists of the searchers of the Vintners' Company from 1575-1600. I will give an abstract of his will (which I found at Somerset House, 70 Windebanck). It shows that he was related to Henry Frith, his successor, and also to Mrs. Anne Williamson, the wife of the vintner at the Mermaid in

Bread Street. Will dated Ap. 16, 1608. John Pinder, vintner. To be buried "in the usuall burying place of Mercers Chappell in Cheapside as neare to the place where my late wife and childe nowe lyes as may be." His goods to be divided into two equal parts, of which one part to his wife Katherine—the other reserved to himself. "The lease of my nowe dwelling house situate in Westcheap als Cheapside to be accompted part of my said moytie." He gives this lease to his kinsman Henry Frith vintner, and also £100. To his wife Hellin Frithe £20, and to his children Margaret and Elizabeth Frith £30 each. Bequest to Henry Frith's brothers, Francis, Roger and William. Bequests to Bridewell Hospital; to poor soldiers "maimed in the Warres," £10; and for redeeming poor prisoners from the Compters and Ludgate, £20. "Item I give and bequeath unto my lovinge kinswoman Anne Williamson the wife of William Williamson vintner, the somme of Tenne poundes," and to their children Wm. and Margaret Williamson £10 each. To the Vintners' Company £10, "for a dynner or banquett." To 40 poor men "a mourninge Gowne of cloth of seaven shillings a yard." To Wm. Williamson the father £13 6s. 8d. Appoints Katherine his wife and Wm. Williamson, the father, executors, and Henry Frith and Wm. Chapman overseers. To his kinsman Francis Frith his tenement on the west side of the Nagges heade; to Henry and Roger Frith the (tavern) known as the Nagges head, in the parish of St. Olave Old Jewry, now or late in the occupation of Robert Gale, vintner. [The Nag's Head was in Cateaton Street, close to the south-east corner of Coleman Street]. Signed and sealed in the presence of George Hamond, John Holley, George Sivedale, scrivener.—(Was George Hamond by any chance the popular drawer at the Mitre, mentioned in the old plays?).

Henry Fryth, who succeeded his kinsman John Pinder at the Mitre, also left a will, from which I made the follow-

ing extracts:—Will of Henry Fryth, vintner of London, parish of St. Mary Colechurch, dated Dec. 6, 1624. Divides his property (according to the ancient custom of City of London) into three parts—one to his wife Elizabeth, one to his children, and of the third (his own part) he gives £100 to each of his children, and to the Vintners' Company £10 " to buy them a cupp," and £10 more to be spent at a meeting. [Somerset House, 108 Byrde].

I have already mentioned that the Mitre was one of the taverns in Cheapside permitted to continue their trade in 1554; and the Mitre and the Bull-Head are the two taverns mentioned in Chepe in the curious list of the fifteen important London taverns in a blackletter sheet of Queen Elizabeth's reign, entitled " Newes from Bartholomew Fayre."

" There hath been great sale and utterance of Wine,
Besides Beere, and Ale, and Ipocras fine,
In every country, region, and nation,
But chiefly in Billingsgate, at the Salutation;
And the Bore's Head, near London Stone;
The Swan at Dowgate, a tavern well knowne;
The Miter in Cheape, and the Bull Head,
And many like places that make noses red;
The Bore's Head in Old Fish Street; Three Cranes in the Vintry;
And now, of late, St. Martin's in the Sentree;
The Windmill in Lothbury; the Ship at th' Exchange;
King's Head in New Fish-street, where roysterers do range;
The Mermaid in Cornhill; Red Lion in the Strand;
Three Tuns in Newgate Market; Old Fish-street at the Swan."

' Sentree ' is a corruption of Sanctuary, and refers to St. Martin-le-Grand; Stow relates that the Church there was destroyed in 1548, and a large wine tavern built on part of the site. Thomas Heywood, the dramatist, wrote a rhymed list of taverns about 1608, purporting to give the type of frequenter of each, but he obviously makes the people suit the particular sign. Here is an extract from it:—

" The Gentry to the King's Head,
The Nobles to the Crown,
The Knights unto the Golden Fleece,
And to the Plough the Clown.
The Churchman to the Mitre,
The Shepherd to the Star,
The gardener hies him to the Rose,
To the Drum the man of war;
To the Feathers, ladies you; the Globe
The seaman doth not scorn;
The usurer to the Devil, and
The townsman to the Horn . . . . . "

I propose to give some quotations from the old dramatists referring to the Mitre here, though I shall give reasons later for supposing that the Bread Street tavern may have been meant, and in two instances was actually named.

In one of his amusing Comedies, Ben Jonson mentions the Mitre, and although he does not fix its locality, it was probably the Cheapside tavern.

Every Man out of His Humour (1599), Act III. Sc. 1:—

*Carlo.* " I'll design the other a place too, that we may see him.

*Puntarvolo.* " No better place than the Mitre, that we may be spectators with you, Carlo."

Scene 1 is in " the Middle Aisle of St. Paul's " . . . . the usual meeting place for gallants and various idlers, including cut-purses, in the morning before the midday dinner. The great Nave was known as ' Paul's Walk,' and was a regular promenade, and business affairs were also transacted there. Later in the scene Sogliardo says, " where shall we go, Signior " ? and Puntarvolo answers, " Your Mitre is your best house." Sogliardo then questions Carlo about the Ordinaries . . . . . " they say there resorts your most choice gallants."

*Carlo.* " True, and the fashion is, when any stranger comes in amongst 'em, they all stand up and stare at him, as he were some unknown beast, brought out of Africk; but that will be helped by a good adventurous face. You must be impudent enough, sit down, and use no respect; when anything's propounded above your capacity, smile at it, make two or three faces, and 'tis excellent; they'll think you have travelled."

In Act V. Sc. 4, Macilente says: " Our supper at the Mitre must of necessity hold tonight, if you love your reputations."

Scene IV takes place in a Room at the Mitre.

*Carlo.* " Holloa ! where be these shot-sharks ?

(*Enter Drawer*).

*Draw.* By and by; you are welcome, good Master Buffone.

*Carlo.* Where's George ? call me George hither quickly.

*Draw.* What wine please you have, sir ? I'll draw you that's neat, Master Buffone.

*Carlo.* Away, neophite, do as I bid thee, bring my dear George to me.

(*Enter George*).

*George.* Welcome, Master Carlo.

*Carlo.* What, is supper ready, George ? . . . . . Draw me the biggest shaft you have out of the butt you wot of; away . . . . . George, quick !

(*re-enter George, with two jugs of wine*).

*George.* Here, Master Carlo.

*Carlo.* Is it right, boy ?

*George.* Ay, sir, I assure you 'tis right.

(*Carlo gets rid of the drawers and drinks*).

*Carlo.* Ay, marry, sir, here's purity; O George . . . . . I could bite off his nose for this now; sweet rogue, he has drawn nectar, the very soul of the grape ! I'll wash my temples with some on't presently, and drink some half a score draughts; 'twill heat the brain, kindle my imagination; I shall talk nothing but crackers and fireworks tonight. So, Sir ! please you to be here, Sir, and I here: so." (*Carlo then sets the two cups asunder, drinks with the one and pledges with the other, speaking for each of the cups, and drinking alternately*):

1 *Cup.* Now, sir, here's to you; and I present you with so much of my Love.

2 *Cup.* I take it kindly from you sir (*drinks*) and will return you the like proportion."

It is impossible to quote more here, but the whole scene is amusing.

Scene 6 is also in 'A Room at the Mitre,' and Scene 7 in the Counter. This was probably the Compter in the Poultry, close by—the other Compter or prison, was then in Wood Street. It is noteworthy that in Act V, Scene 5, when Macilente tells Deliro that his brother-in-law is left in pawn for the reckoning at a tavern.—*Deliro* asks, " What tavern is it ? *Mac.* The Mitre, Sir. *Del.* O !

why, Fido ! my shoes."—which suggests that 'the Mitre' was understood as a particular tavern, and probably the one in Cheapside ?

George, the chief drawer at the Mitre, was evidently a well known character at this time, and a popular one He is referred to in "Westward Hoe," the play by Dekker and John Webster, 1607. Tenterhook, in Act IV, Scene 1, has blindfolded Lucy with his hands and she makes various guesses as to his identity:—"You are not Sir Gosling Glowworm for he wears no rings of his fingers; Master Freezeleather? . . . . . .O, you are George the drawer at the Mitre . . . . . pray you, unblind me."

Aubrey in his Lives of eminent men relates an anecdote of Sir Walter Raleigh, which is of great interest if it really suggested to Ben Jonson the ludicrous punishment inflicted on the drunken and garrulous Carlo Buffone by Puntarvolo . . . . . the latter made Carlo lie down, and then sealed up his mouth with sealing wax (the wax and a lighted candle were brought by George, the drawer at the Mitre). Aubrey says of one Charles Chester,that he was "a perpetual talker and made a noise like a drum in a room, so one time at a tavern Sir Walter Raleigh beats him and seales up his mouth, *i.e.* his upper and nether beard, with hard wax. From him Ben Jonson takes his Carlo Buffone in "Every Man Out of His Humour." It is possible however that Ben Jonson's idea was afterwards put down to Raleigh ? This story of Sir Walter Raleigh reminds me of the saying attributed to him by that clever old parson, Thomas Fuller: Sir Walter Raleigh of his cowardly detractors was wont to say: "If any man accuseth me to my face I will answer him with my mouth, but my tail is good enough to return an answer to such who traduceth me behind my back." Fuller, in his "Worthies," speaks thus of Ben Jonson's Plays: "He was paramount in the Dramatique part of Poetry . . . . . His Comedies were above the Volge (which are only tickled

with downright obscenity), and took not so well at the first stroke as at the rebound, when beheld the second time, yea they will endure reading, and that with due commendation, so long as either ingenuity or learning are fashionable in our Nation."

Since "the Mitre in Cheape" was mentioned amongst the fifteen leading taverns in the Elizabethan print, and we find records of visits to it as early as 1461, it was in all probability the Mitre Tavern referred to in the old plays, except in "The Miseries of Inforst Marriage," by George Wilkins, 1607, which will be quoted under the Mitre in Bread Street, which it concerns; and also in 'A Match at Midnight,' by Rowley.

I will now give a fuller quotation from the Play of "Sir Thomas More," (*circ.* 1592).[1]

(*Enter four Prentices, with a paire of Cudgelles*).

*Harry.* "Come lay downe the Cudgelles: Hoh, Robin, you met us well at Bunhill to have you with us a Mayng."

*Robin.* "Faith, Harrie, the head drawer at the Miter by the greate Conduite called me up, and we went to breakefast into St. Annes Lane. But come, who beginnes? In good faith I am cleane out of practise; when wast at Garret's schoole, Harrie?"

*Harry.* "Not this great while, never since I brake his ushers head, when he plaid his s(cho)llers prize at the Starre in Bread Streete, I use all to George Philpots at D(ow)gate . . . . . hees the best back-sworde man in England."

The inn yards were then used for fencing. In the Shakespearian Society's Edition of "*Tarlton's Jests*," some interesting notes on his skill in fencing are given. He was admitted a Master in 1587, and was one of the judges in that year when James Cranydge played his Master's prize at the Bell Savage without Ludgate.

Before leaving the subject of the Mitre and the old dramatists, I will give a further quotation from Middleton's play "Your Five Gallants," licensed in 1608, which was referred to by Burn (who quoted the first portion).

[1] Malone Society's Publications, Ed. W. Greg, p. 16.

Act II, Scene 1.

*Goldstone.* "Where sup we, gallants?"

*Pursenet.* "At Mermaid."

*Gol.* "Sup there who list, I have forsworn the house."

*Fulke.* For the truth is, this plot must take effect at Mitre."

(*The company then ask Goldstone to name the place*).

*Gol.* "Why, the Mitre, in my mind for neat attendance, diligent boys, and . . . . . push! excels it far."

*All.* "Agreed, the Mitre then,"

Later in the scene (in Primero's house) Goldstone invites Primero and the ladies "to take part of a poor supper with myself and the other gentlemen at the Mitre." Primero expresses mislike to bring the ladies: "I fear the drawers, and vintner's boys will be familiar with them."

*Pur.* "There are those places whose respect seems slighter, More censure is belonging to the Mitre" . . . . . .

*Prim.* "You shall prevail."

Scene 3 is in A Room at the Mitre. Goldstone, the cheating gallant, is about to rob the vintner by substituting false metal beakers for two silver ones, and has called for dice. (*Enter Vintner*).

*Gold.* "The Vintner himself? . . . . . What's thy name, Vintner"?

*Vint.* "Jack, and please your worship."

If this name is not merely fanciful, it would fit either John Pinder at the Mitre in Cheap, or John Horton at the Mitre on Bread Street Hill.

In Scene 4, Goldstone says: "I must remember you 'tis Mitre-night, ladies." *Second courtesan.* "Mass, 'tis indeed Friday today, I'd quite forgot."

It is worthy of remark that Ben Jonson's scene at the Mitre, in 'Every Man Out of His Humour,' also took place on a Friday night, for Fungoso, near the end of Scene 4, says: "'tis Friday night." As this was still observed as a fish day, though probably less generally than in earlier times, it suggests that the Mitre had either a reputation for disregarding the regulations (Carlo in Ben Jonson's play ordered a fat loin of pork, and there were capons too) or it was noted for its fish dinners and suppers. Although I like to believe that the ancient 'Mitre in Cheap' was the house

referred to by the dramatists, I confess that my discovery that "the Mermaid in Bread Street" was famous for fish dinners, and stood close to the market in Old Fish Street and also conveniently near the Stairs on the river, increases the probability that they referred to the Mitre on Bread Street Hill. The situation of this tavern gave it precisely the same conveniences of the Stairs and the fish market. The fact that Middleton and Ben Jonson both suggest that "the Mitre" was a house frequented on Fridays, or 'fish' days, is in favour of the claim of the Bread Street Mitre. On the other hand 'the Mitre in Cheap' is the only house of that sign mentioned in 'News from Bartholomew Fair,' but the Bread Street Mitre also existed then. I fear that we cannot hope for certainty in this matter.

In "The Wise Woman of Hogsden," Act. II, Sc., 2, Thomas Heywood, the dramatist and player of Shakespeare's time and later, refers to the Mitre. Sencer is a suitor for Sir Harry's daughter, and the latter remembers that he committed Sencer to the Compter for beating the watch. Sencer explains that he did it to obtain a night's lodging. *Sen.* "Being somewhat late at Supper at the Mitre, the doors were shut at my lodging . . . . . all were a-bed and fast; inns, taverns, none would give me entertainment." Once again we can only surmise that the tavern was the one in Cheap.

Before taking leave of St. Mary Colechurch, of which the very existence has been long forgotten save by a few antiquaries, I should like to quote one more extract from its old Vestry minutes:—"Att a Vestry houldin the viith daye of June 1612, it is agreed to adventure sixe pounds of the proffitt of our church stock in the lottery for the plantacion of Vergenna, and what benefit shall hapen thereby shalbe for the good of our Church." Here, good Cousins of the Great Republic over the water, is surely a record of more than ordinary interest. What would the

six pounds of old St. Mary Colechurch have grown to today? The Churchwardens and Vestry, though they little knew it, risked their money in the great 'adventure' to some purpose!

So much for "the Mitre in Cheap"—I do not think we shall be far wrong in locating it on the first floor of the present numbers 83-85 Cheapside, and behind them. The Mercers' badge, the Maidenhead, is seen today on all this large block of houses near Old Jewry.

### The Mitre Tavern on Bread Street Hill.

This was an important tavern before the Fire, and must not be confused with the Mitre in Cheapside, for it was situated on Bread Street Hill, a long way south of Cheapside, and no doubt depended mainly for its customers upon those landing at the Stairs from boats, either at the Three Cranes or Queenhithe. Gifford, followed by Wheatley, etc., assumed that it stood at the Cheapside corner of Bread Street, and was the same house as the Mitre in Cheap.

The Tavern was situated in Queenhithe Ward, in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave, and Mitre Court is marked and named in O. and M's map, 1677, on the east side of Bread Street Hill, with an entrance from that street, and another from Huggen Lane on the east; its position was a little south of St. Nicholas Olaves' Church on the opposite side of Bread Street Hill. It was therefore not far from the Mermaid in Bread Street, and stood between that house and the Thames, and there was doubtless considerable rivalry between the two taverns. George Wilkins, in his play, 'The Miseries of Inforst Marriage,' (1607), refers to this tavern:—

Act III.

*Ilford says*:—"Why then so sure will I be assailed by a couple of sergeants and fall into one of the unlucky cranks about Cheapside called Counters.

(*Enter Drawer*).

*Draw.* Here's the pure and neat grape, gentlemen, I assure you.

*Ilford.* Fill up: what have you brought here, goodman rogue?

*Draw.* The pure element of claret, sir.

*Ilford.* Have you so, and did not I call for Rhenish, you mongrel? " (*throws the wine into drawer's face*).

. . . . . .

" How ill it will stand with the flourish of your reputations when men of rank and note communicate that I, Frank Ilford, gentleman . . . . was enforced from the Mitre in Bread Street to the Counter in the Poultry."

In the same scene a Drawer says:—" Anon, anon. Look down into the Dolphin there "; and later, " look down to the Pomegranate there."

The taverns at this period had a number of rooms known by such names or signs, which were probably painted on or above the doors. I shall show that the Mitre in Fenchurch Street had eight named rooms, and other taverns had more, the largest number that I have come across being sixteen. The various rooms were probably taken by separate parties for the evening. The Pomegranate was a badge of Queen Mary in memory of her mother's Spanish descent, as a punning badge for Granada.

William Rowley, in his play, " A Match at Midnight," (Dodsley's Old Plays), which was first printed in 1633, and which had been " acted by the Children of the Revells," also alludes to the Bread Street Mitre:—

*Captain.* " Come, we'll pay at bar, and to the Mitre in Bread-street; we'll make a mad night on't. Please you, sweet ladies, but to walk into Bread Street."

Formerly, it would seem, Bread Street Hill was also called Bread Street (Harben's Dict. p. 99).

I find two deeds concerning this Queenhithe Mitre in the Husting Rolls: 1572.[1] Milo Eyre, citizen and vintner, granted to William Widnell, merchant-taylor, all that Messuage or Tavern called ' The Metre ' now or lately in

[1] H.R. 258 (24).

the tenure of Ralph Fytche and formerly occupied by William Harrison, vintner, situate in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave in the Ward of Queenhithe. The deed again refers to ' the tavern called the Myter.'

An Inquisition of 1551[1] concerns the grantor's father. Miles Eyer was seised of a messuage called the Three Tonnes in Thamystrete . . . . . and of 1 capital messuage in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave in the Ward of Quenehith, abutting towards Bredstreet there on the west part and Hoggan Lane *alias* Sporren Lane towards the east, and another messuage south of the Capital Messuage in which he lived. In his will, dated 1551, " I give to Myles Eyre, my son and heir, at his age of 21, all that my capital messuage wherein I now dwell in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave, with the tenement thereto adjoining, called the Myter, all cellars, solars, etc., thereto appertaining." The capital messuage was worth per ann., £13. " The tenement in Bredstrete is held of the King in free burgage by fealty only, and is worth per ann., clear, £7." In all probability these properties had belonged to one of the Religious Houses and Miles Eyre obtained them at the Reformation.

The William Harrison, mentioned in 1572 as a former occupant of the Mitre tavern, was one of the 32 holders of taverns in 1564 who petitioned to be admitted to the forty Taverners permitted to carry on their trade (under the Act of 7 Ed. VI, 1553)—" Breadstrete, Willm. Harrison at the Miter." The tavern is not included in the list of I Mary, 1553 (see under the Mermaid in Bread Street). Ralph Fitch has been referred to as one of the Wardens of the Vintners' Company who represented the Company in 1594. He was one of the vintners in 1575 who got into trouble with the Common Council, and is in lists of searchers from 1583 to 1590. In 1596 his name appears first (as Master probably) in the list of searchers appointed

[1] Inq. P.M. for London, p. 111.

by the Vintners' Company.[1] He had probably ceased to keep the Mitre Tavern at this time, for in 1598, amongst a long list of taverns presented for defective wines, there is this entry:—"At the Miter on Bread Street Hill. John Horton Vintenr," and John Horton was one of the searchers appointed in 1596 by the Company (Rep. 24), and he also appears in two search lists of 1594-5. In 1563 "at the Myter in Bredstrete, Gascon 2 h. h."—(two hogsheads of defective Gascon wine) were presented—probably in Harrison's time. Miles Eyre himself was probably one of the merchant importers, and sublet the Mitre to retail his wines; at any rate I find no other mention of him.

1647. Another deed is a sale by Lewis Bromley of London, gentleman, and Thomasine his wife, to Thomas Skargill, gentleman, of "all that great Messuage or Taverne called or knowne by the name of the signe of the newe Mighter . . . . . scituate on Bredstreet Hill in the parish of St. Nicholas Olaves, sometime in the occupation of William Shortre Vintner and now or late of William Cashe Vintner."[2] 'Bromley's Buildings,' an alley from 19 Bread Street Hill eastwards to 5 Huggin Lane, now occupy the site of Mitre Court, and the name though modern must have had some connection with Lewis Bromley of 1647 or his descendants. Mitre Court, marked in O. and M., and also in Strype's Maps, doubtless commemorated the tavern. The Church of St. Nicholas Olave was not rebuilt after the Fire. "William Cash at ye Miter in Bread Street" is in the Vintners' poll list, 1641.

The Plumbers' Company record several dinners at the Bread Street Mitre:—1600. "Payd at a Dynner at the Myter as by a byll doth apear." There is another payment in 1615. 1620. Item for the Second Search Dynner at the Miter in Bread Street as by the bill appeareth—3li. 9s. 1d."; and for the fourth search dynner at the Myter

[1] Rep. 24, fo. 13, b., fo. 15b.
[2] H.R. 322 (19).

in Bread Street—11i. 10s. 4d. 1635-6. "Item payed for a dynner upon vew day at ye Myter Taverne in Bread Strete." Unfortunately the early records of St. Nicholas Olave's Church appear to have been destroyed in the Fire, so we are deprived of the local parish visits, vintners' bills, etc.

The Subsidy list of 1563, from which I quoted extracts under Bread Street, mentions "Wyllyam Haryson—5li—5s" (the tax being a shilling in the pound) in Queenhithe Ward, "St. Nicholas Olave, Myldred and Trynitye" parishes. A few houses of St. Mildred's parish were in Queenhithe ward (i.e. south of Basing lane, which is now absorbed in the modern extension of Cannon Street). The names at the end of the list of those parishes run thus:—Thomas Dent 5li., Wyllyam Haryson 5li., John Dunne 5—. . ., and the list ends with "The paynters hall 6li." This was in Little Trinity Lane. A William Gryffyn was assessed at £15, in the same list of 1563, in the list of the parishes of St. Nicholas Coleabbey, St. Mary Magdalen and St. Mary Mounthaw. I have already remarked that he is mentioned at the Mermaid, Cheapside in 1564, and at the Mermaid in Bread Street in 1568. Possibly in 1563 he kept a tavern in Old Fish Street, in St. Nicholas Coleabbey parish. In 1564 he was petitioning that the Mermaid in Cheapside might be included amongst the forty licensed taverns. The trouble about getting into the 'forty' must have led to much jealousy and frequent removals of vintners from one tavern to another. Under the Mermaid in Bread Street I gave reasons for supposing that Gryffyn was at that house, and not in Cheapside.

In the account of "the Mitre in Cheap" I quoted various references to "the Mitre" in the plays of Ben Jonson, Middleton, etc., and there mentioned that there was considerable doubt whether the Cheapside or the Bread Street tavern was referred to. While the 'Mitres' were

assumed by writers on Old London to have been ' one and the same house ' at the corner of Bread Street, the matter seemed simple enough, but as the chief interest in these taverns consists in their possible connection with the dramatists, I will make a few suggestions which somewhat favour the claim of this Mitre on Bread Street Hill. When I commenced these researches I assumed that ' the Mitre in Cheap ' was referred to, but now (somewhat unwillingly) I confess to the belief that the Bread Street house has the better claim, for the same reasons already given in favour of the Bread Street Mermaid. The Thames was the great highway of Old London between east and west, and also from the City to Southwark, which specially concerned the writers and players. From the stairs by the Bear at the Bridge-Foot, or the Falcon Stairs on the Bankside, the passage by boat to the Three Cranes, Queenhithe, Trig stairs and Blackfriars was rapid and easy. While the solid citizens doubtless patronised the taverns near their homes and places of business, whether in Cheapside, Cornhill, or other streets, the pleasure-seeking, and less staid tavern frequenters, and those whose business led them to travel about, would tend to visit taverns near the Stairs, assuming that the wines and accommodation were good. The Three Cranes, the Mitre on Bread Street Hill, the Swan in Old Fish Street, and the Mermaid at the foot of Bread Street, all enjoyed the advantage of convenience for the Stairs. I have shown that Tom Coryat mentioned meetings at the Mermaid in Bread Street, on the first Friday of the month, and that the vintner, William Meade, stated that his tavern was noted for its fish dinners. These taverns, when Fridays and Lent were observed, enjoyed another advantage in being near the fish market in Old Fish Street. Both Jonson and Middleton place scenes at ' the Mitre ' on a Friday. Middleton in " Your Five Gallants " (already quoted) definitely suggests that there was rivalry between the Mermaid and Mitre, and probably

meant between their *frequenters*. He does not appear to have been on good terms with Jonson, and probably considered that the " Sirenaicks," the sons of Ben, were exclusive and arrogant—and perhaps he had good reason for so thinking. In 1599, when Jonson placed a scene at the Mitre, this antagonism may not have developed—I have already suggested that his 'Mermaid' years may, with fair probability, be placed between 1606 and 1616, the year in which Beaumont died. In " Every Man Out of His Humour," 1599, Jonson introduces George, the drawer at the Mitre, who is also mentioned in " Westward Hoe," by Webster and Dekker, in 1607. Middleton, in " Your Five Gallants," introduces the vintner of " the Mitre," and names him " Jack." John Horton was vintner at the Bread Street Mitre in 1598, and John Pinder at the Mitre in Cheap in that year, but I think that Henry Frith was at the Cheapside Mitre in 1608 or earlier. It is of course possible that " Jack " was merely a name invented by Middleton, but it does not do to ignore the possibility that the writers occasionally introduced real names of popular characters of their time. Enough of these suggestions, which I admit do not afford any *proof*. It is not unlikely that Middleton and his circle formed a rival group at " the Mitre " on Bread Street Hill, not many yards south of the Mermaid in Bread Street where the ' Noble Sirenaicks ' were wont to meet.

John Donne, the remarkable mystic poet who took orders late in life and became Dean of St. Paul's, was born in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave, Bread Street, and thus was not only a Londoner by birth, but from his earliest years must have been familiar with the signs of the Mitre and Mermaid in Bread Street. The children of those days must have regarded these signs, often of strange figures such as the Mermaid, the Flying Horse, or the Cat and Fiddle, with great curiosity and interest, amounting to a sort of veneration in those of an imaginative type. The

account of Donne's life, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," tells us that he was born in 1573 in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave, and that his father, John Donne, was a citizen and ironmonger, who was Warden of his Company in 1574. In the Subsidy list of 5 Eliz. (R.O. $\frac{145}{220}$) which I have several times quoted, in "Queenhith Ward, parishes of St. Nicholas Olave, Myldred and Trynitie," next to Wyllyam Haryson (who kept the Mitre Tavern, Bread Street) is the name: "John Dunne 5li.—5s."—his assessment being the same as Harrison's. This must be John Donne's father, in 1562, or eleven years before the poet's birth. John Donne evidently pronounced his name "Dun," for he was fond of making puns on it, and this entry in the old Subsidy list bears out the correctness of that pronunciation. The list suggests that John Donne was actually born next door to the Mitre Tavern, and for this reason it seemed proper to give a short account of him here, rather than under the Bread Street Mermaid, though probably that was the house he frequented in his younger days. Tom Coryat in his letter to the "Sirenaicks" asks to be remembered to John Donne, who was one of the writers who contributed "commendatory" verses to his "Crudities," and, like the rest, was very rude to poor Coryat, who was by no means the fool these "wits" supposed. Donne is rather neglected today, and perhaps in this account of the Mitre, close to his birthplace, I may be forgiven for quoting a few lines from his verses, which are often remarkable, and sometimes exquisite. Ben Jonson's opinion of Donne (expressed to Drummond) shows a marvellously clear judgment . . . . . that "he esteemed him the first of poets in some things . . . . . and that, through not being understood he would perish." Donne strikes one as being curiously in advance of his time in his verses:—

> "If yet I have not all thy love,
> Dear, I shall never have it all;
> I cannot breathe one other sigh, to move,
> Nor can intreat one other tear to fall."

Then in " The Relique," where he pictures his own grave broken up to entertain another guest:—

" And he that digs it spies
A bracelet of bright hair about the bone,
Will not he let us alone,
And think that there a loving couple lies,
Who thought that this device might be some way
To make their souls at the last busy day
Meet at this grave, and make a little stay ? "

(The third line is typical of Donne's carelessnesss of metre and rhythm).

In " The Ecstacy ":—

" Where, like a pillow on a bed,
A pregnant bank swell'd up, to rest
The Violet's reclining head,
Sat we two, one another's best.
As, 'twixt two equal armies, Fate
Suspends uncertain victory,
Our souls—which to advance their state,
Were gone out—hung 'twixt her and me."

When we consider that these lines were probably written before 1600, the contrast between Donne and the writers of his own time, and even of two centuries later, is indeed remarkable. It is known that in later life he would gladly have destroyed all his earlier secular verses —and we must be thankful that he did not succeed ! It is curious that Bread Street appears to have been the birth-place of two great poets and Londoners—John Donne and John Milton. My discovery of Donne's father in the Subsidy list (if it has been previously published I apologise, but I am unaware of it) makes this a suitable place to mention that I find Milton's father in a Subsidy list of 1610, of Bread Street Ward, parish of All Hallows. He is said by Aubrey to have been born at a house with the sign of the Spread Eagle, and this has, naturally enough, been located at Black Spread Eagle Court, which is marked in Strype's and Maitland's maps on the east side of Bread Street near Cheapside.

This court however, was on very old property of the Merchant Taylors' Company—"the Saracen's Head" in Bread Street, and there is no evidence that John Milton's father lived there, or that the Court was so-named before the Fire. "The Three Cups" Inn stood on the west side of Bread Street, south of Watling Street, and an innholder named Rowland Rutt kept the inn from about 1595 or earlier. In the Subsidy list of All Hallows parish in 1610,[1] when John Milton the poet was two years old, Rowland Rutt was assessed at 3li.—tax 3s., and, next to him, John Milton, 6li.—6s. It is true that Milton has nothing to do with the Mermaids and Mitres (except that his eyes, like those of Donne, frequently saw their signs in his boyhood), but this subsidy list seems to me of great interest, and shows that Milton's bust, on the site of All Hallows Church where he was baptised, is actually looking across the street not far from his birthplace. It is a strange and interesting fact that the marble figure of Dr. Donne in his shroud, which was copied from the portrait painted by his direction when he knew that death was approaching him, survived the destruction of old St. Paul's in the Fire, and has been placed in the South Choir, where his tomb stood in the old Cathedral.

We have no old records of St. Nicholas Olave Church, to give us details of the dinners at the Mitre tavern. The Plumbers' Company, whose old Hall was in Anchor lane, close to the river, record several payments at the Bread Street Mitre, and the details of the dinner in 1596 (extracted from their accounts, Guildhall MS., 2210) though probably held in their Hall, doubtless show the sort of fare provided at the Mitre at that period, and may be compared with Andrew Goodyere's bills at the Mermaid at Aldersgate.—

"Dynner on our Court Day 18 November, 1596.

Item ij leges of pork iiijs., ij gease vijs., for ij Capones vjs., for

[1] Record Office, $\frac{2}{178}$ Subsidies.

eale and beare 5s. iiijd., for a brest of velle iijs., for a leg of mouten xviijd., for ij lbs of suger ijs., for peper iiijd., for iiij lbs of boutter xvjd., for belet and faget vs., for colles great and small 3s., for ij lb of candeles viijd., for sorrell, seyges and other earbes viijd., for iiij Dosen of bread iiijs., Appeles, bisketes and Carawais xijd., for vineker and mosterd iiijd., . . . . for wine iiijs. iiijd.

Vintners' Hall, in Upper Thames Street, is quite close to the lower end of Bread Street Hill, and the old records of the Vintners' Company contain a good many entries of dinners at the Mitre in Bread Street. It is noteworthy, however, that these were mainly from about 1601, when three dinners "at Mr. Hortons" are recorded, to 1611. This was evidently John Horton, mentioned above at this tavern in 1598, and it is of interest as somewhat supporting my suggestion that *this* was the *Mitre* Tavern frequented by Middleton and other dramatists at this period. Before 1600 the taverns visited for dinners were mainly the *Mermaid* in Bread Street, the *Three Cranes*, and others, as shown more fully in the Appendix at the end of this book.

### The Mitre Tavern Near Aldgate.

The Mitre Tavern. Mitre Street, of which the eastern end was formerly called Mitre Court, is on the north side of Aldgate Street, and runs across the site of the old Priory Church: Mitre Court adjoined the site of the Lady Chapel at the east end of the Church, and here the Mitre Tavern stood. Between this point and Aldgate there was formerly 'a great garden' belonging to the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.

Token: *O.* At ye Myter Taverne—(a Mitre).
*R.* Within Algate—H.S.N.

This token was probably issued by Mr. Norris, who succeeded George Sherman in 1657. It is possible to trace the occupiers of the Mitre Tavern in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Katherine Cree, from the fact that in 1659 the tithes list of the parish, in the position

of the 8th name from the end of the list, gives "The Myter Taverne that was." In 1658 the name in the same position is left blank. . . . "Mr. . . . . "; the name above is Richd. Castle, and Richard Johnson below:– in 1657 Mr. Norris comes between R. Castle and R. Johnson; and from 1656 back to 1650, Mr. George Sherman occupies this position. Mr. W. Gilbert describes an unpublished token by John Brett at the Mitre, and I find that this vintner supplied wine to the Church from about 1662 to 1668.

The Pewterers' Company had a meeting at the Mitre within Aldgate in 1666, and in 1702 at "the Mitre in Duke's Place."

The Priory of the Holy Trinity was given by Henry VIII to Sir Thomas Audley, whose daughter and heiress married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, from whom Duke Street and Duke's Place were named. Henry Machyn records in his diary in 1562:—"The viij day of October my lord the duke of Northfoke and the duches my good lade ys wyff cam rydyng thrughe London and thrughe Byshope-gatt to Leydyn-hall, and so to Chrychyre to ys own plase, with a C. horse in ys leverey was ys men gentyll-men a-fore cottes gardyd with velvett, and with iiij haroldes a-for hym, master Clarenshux kyng at armes, Master Somersett and master Ruge-crosse and Master Blumantylle ryd a-fore.[1]

Audley was one of the many vandals of the Reformation period, and demolished the church of the richest Priory in London, selling the stone very cheap, since, according to Stow, it was mostly broken during the demolition. The Prior of Holy Trinity was an Alderman of Portsoken Ward. St. Katherine Cree Church, or Christ Church, was built in the cemetery of the Priory, and in the Church-wardens' accounts there are several references to the Mitre and its vintners. In 1650, Mr. George Sherman was rated at

[1] Machyn's Diary, Camden Society, p. 294.

16s. in the tithes list, and in 1651 was paid for Communion wine. In 1654, he was paid £5. 13s. od., for wine. In 1656-7 there are several payments "at the Myter Taverne." In 1656, Mr. Sherman was paid £2. 6s. od., for wine, and Mr. Norris, (who probably issued the token), £3. 1s. od. In 1661-2 there were payments at the Myter Taverne.

The Pewterers' Company record payments at the Mitre Tavern within Aldgate in 1666, and this tavern, like those outside the Fire Area in Bishopsgate Street, was probably very busy for several years after 1666.

The Church of St. Botolph was just outside Aldgate, and the Parish Dinners were probably held at a tavern within the parish, very probably the Pye Tavern. A very interesting dinner bill is however worth quoting, to show the sort of fare and the prices, which were doubtless similar at the Mitre and other taverns at the time—1586, Jan. 19th.

" The chargis laied owt for the visitacion dinner. Item for 4 ribbs of Befe and a ser loyne 3s. 4d.; Item ij hinde quarters of mutton at xixd. ye peece 3s. 2d.; Item a loyne and a brest of veale 4s.; Item for ij pounds of corans at 6d.; for dressing y^e^ meate 2s. 6d.,; for Breade 3s.; for iij pottles of clarrit wyne at xd. ye pottle 2s. 6d.; for 1 pownde of Sugor at 16d.; for ij pottles of Sacke at 2s. 8d.; for 1 quart of sacke at 8d; for faggotts 10d.; for breade and ale 2s. 4d."

(From the Rev. A. G. B. Atkinson's " History of St. Botolph Aldgate, p. 111). It is worth while to compare this bill of the period when Shakespeare came to London with those of the Mermaid at Aldersgate. It has been pointed out before that the Mitre sign is generally found on sites which belonged to the Church before the Reformation. The 1855 Post Office Directory gives:—" Mitre Tavern, 3 Mitre Street Aldgate," but it has since disappeared.

### The Mitre in Bishopsgate Street.

This was a sign which we should expect to find in this street and a stone bas-relief of a mitre is now placed on

either side of the spot where the old gate stood. The gate, like all the others in London, was found to be a nuisance in obstructing the increased wheeled traffic and was removed in 1760. I have not ascertained the site of the Mitre Tavern, of which there is a token—" At the Miter Tavern—In Bishop Gate Streete—R.M.R." I have discovered the name of the issuer for in the records of the Vintners' Company in 1644, Richard Robinson is mentioned at this tavern. Possibly the Mitre was close to the gate, where there was a very ancient tavern called the King's Head. In the Commonwealth State Papers, 1654, during the search for " Malignants," it appears that a payment of £100 was made at the Mitre in Bishopsgate Street, for the use of several persons unknown.

In the 1641 Vintners' poll list, we find " Miles Clark at y^e^ Mitre in B'pgate Street."

### The Mitre in Chancery Lane.

This stands at No. 125, on the west side near Fleet Street. The sign here had perhaps some connection with the neighbouring property of the Bishops of Chichester, but I have no information to show how long the house has been a tavern, nor have I found any old records concerning it. Mr. W. G. Bell, in his full and interesting account of ' Fleet Street in Seven Centuries,' says that the present Mitre is on the site of Izaak Walton's house in Chancery Lane.

Cunningham, 1849, said that Walton's house was about the seventh on the left side from Fleet Street, and in Thornbury's ' Old and New London ' it is placed at No. 120, Chancery Lane, but the source of the information is not given. There is no token described of ' the Mitre ' in Chancery Lane, and it is possible that the sign replaced that of ' the Pope's Head,' of which two tokens were issued. ' The Mitre,' 125 Chancery Lane, is a busy and well-patronised house for luncheons etc. It is given in the

1855 Post Office Directory, " Mitre tavern, 125 Chancery lane, Thomas Pearson." The Pope's Head Tavern, just referred to, stood back from Chancery Lane, by Bell Yard, not on the site of the present Mitre.

The " Apple Tree " in Cursitor Street, on the east side of Chancery Lane, probably was on land of the Bishop of Chichester (see L. Wagner, London Taverns etc., p. 203.) This tavern was not improbably " the Rose," of which there are two tokens.

### The Mitre Tavern, Ely Place.

This is an interesting little house in Mitre Court, a narrow passage leading from Ely Place to Hatton Garden. It is not an ancient tavern, though it follows the general rule of Mitre signs in being derived from property that formerly belonged to a bishop or Religious House. In this case the Mitre stands on the site of the Bishop of Ely's Mansion. On the wall of the house there is an interesting carved Mitre, which serves as a sign, but which is much older than the present house. Dr. Philip Norman gives an illustration of this sign, on p. 116 of his delightful account of ' London Signs and Inscriptions.' He suggests that this Mitre, above the sculptured Arms of the See, once stood over the chief entrance to the Bishop's mansion. The beautiful chapel of St. Etheldreda, in which there is a very fine traceried window, is the only part of Ely House which survives to-day. The present Ely Place was built on part of the grounds after 1772, but the watchman, who locks the gates leading into it at night, is an interesting survival of the past, and serves to remind us that this property once belonged to the See of Ely. Hatton Garden was named from Sir Christopher Hatton, to whom Queen Elizabeth gave Ely House and grounds, for which he paid a nominal rent. Lockie, 1813, mentions " Mitre Court, 8 houses on the right from Holborn Hill," which shows that ' the Mitre ' existed then.

Shakespeare's reference to the gardens of Ely House (in Richard III) has often been quoted but is too interesting to omit altogether:—

Duke of Gloucester.—"My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn, I saw good strawberries in your garden there."

Will Owen gives an excellent drawing of 'The Mitre,' opposite p. 71, in his charming little book 'Old London Town'; and the house is described by Leopold Wagner in his entertaining account of "London Inns and Taverns.'

## THE MITRE IN FENCHURCH STREET.

A full account of this tavern by the present writer has been published in the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 1926, from which the following abridged notice is taken, with some additional notes. The tavern stood at the position of No. 157, Fenchurch Street, close to the south-east corner of Lime Street, and the earliest known deeds concerning it were after the Reformation. Probably like other houses with this sign, it originally belonged to a bishop or Religious House, and in this case perhaps to the Bishop of London, as an alley adjoining it on the east was called 'Pauls Alley.' In Elizabeth's time the house, then called 'the Bishop's Mitre,' belonged to the Pewterers' Company, who probably obtained it after the Reformation; William Hobson was the vintner there at the end of the 16th century, and in 1615 he demised the remainder of his lease to a vintner called Edward Organ. In the account in the London and Middlesex Society's *Transactions*, I have described how I was fortunate enough to trace the original leases, and the kindness of the present owners of the property—the City of London Real Property Company—in permitting me to see them. The chief interest of the house to us is due to the fact that Daniel Rawlinson, vintner, kept it in Pepys's time, and that the inimitable

diarist records many visits there, with entertaining details.

Perhaps the most interesting old document is the Schedule (or Inventory) of the rooms in 'the Mitre tavern' in 1615, which we may fairly describe as in Shakespeare's time, for though the great writer left London a few years before this date, it is reasonable to suppose that the rooms had the same names and general aspect in Queen Elizabeth's reign. I will therefore give the extracts from this 'Schedule' again.

1615. Indenture between Edward Organ vyntener, and William Hobson—whereas William Hobson has letten to Edward Organ all that tenement commonlie called the Bishops Myter for 21 yeares, and for the yearly rent of 11 poundes, 6 shillings, and 8 pence. . . . Edward Organ shall pay for a fyne to William Hobson the sum of £602.—To this deed is attached the Schedule.

Imp'mis one doore to the streete with an yron knocker . . . . a celler dore towards the streete with thre yron boults thereto and a Lattese wyndowe before and p'te of the Taverne.

In the Taverne. Item the barre and doore thereto conteyning thre yards and a halfe of wainscott.

Itm. the wainscott portall and doore therein conteyning twentie and two yards with a pullye to the Dore. Item a Joyner's wyndowe conteyning 24 panes of glasse. Itm. nyne barres of yron unto twoe grates to cast light into the celler. Item the Kitchen yard entrye and betweene the posts and seats at the Streete dore paved with purbeck stone. Kitchen and buttrey, 11 shelves and 3 dressers.

In the Phenix,—two benches with a back, a doore, an oven, and a wyndowe or cleerestory.

In the Lyon—Three score and four foot of settleing with twoe backs, fyftie yards of paynted cloth, and a wyndowe conteyning 51 panes of glass, whereof x yron casements.

In the First Gallery a settle of wainscot. In the Beare—a wyndowe and two cleere storeys. In the Prymrose—a doore with a catche, a wyndowe conteyning xi panes of glasse whereof one yron casement. In the harte—1 settle of wainscott with 2 Benches—13 yards of paynted clothe, a wyndowe and 2 cleres-

toryes conteyning nineteen panes of glasse whereof 4 yron casements. Other rooms called the Rose and the Swanne follow; the latter had 22 panes of glass.

In the Spread Eagle—a window or light containing 10 panes of glass, and 2 panes of glasse at the staires head by the said room.

The Greate Garrett had two doors and "one boord wyndowe to the pigeon house"—In the uppermost chamber of the west side of the house there were 31 yards of painted cloth and 8 panes of glass.

The painted or stained cloth was used to imitate tapestry, being much cheaper.

William Hobson appears in lists of the searchers appointed by the Vintners' Company between 1590 and 1596. Twelve searchers were appointed each year to search the cellars in the City of London for defective wines.

He was Warden of the Vintners' Company in 1601-2, and a Company dinner was held at his house in that year. In his Will, dated 1606, he leaves his dwelling house called the Myter to his wife, Elizabeth, with remainder (of the lease) to his daughter, Joyce.

Edward Organ had children baptised at St. Dionis Backchurch, between 1616 and 1622. His wife Margaret, was buried in 1623, and his daughter Ellen, in 1625.

1635. The Pewterers' Company leased to Ashley Cheyney, vintner, the house called the Byshopps Myter for 22 years. Cheyney probably succeeded Organ about 1627, in which year 'John son of Ashley Cheyney' was baptised at St. Dionis.

Daniel Rawlinson, vintner, the friend of Samuel Pepys, probably succeeded Cheyney in 1641, and occupied the Mitre until 1679. A poll-tax list of Langbourne Ward of 1641, in St. Dionis' parish, mentions the house of Daniel Rawlinson, with his wife, Robert Shoate, a freeman, and Francis Turner and Rhode Rawlinson, servants, for which household the tax was 2s. 6d.[1] He is mentioned in the

[1] Rec. Office, Subsidies, 252/12.

lists of the Vintners' Company, 1644 onwards, and in 1647 was called to serve (as steward) or to pay his fine. He was Warden of the Vintners' Company in 1662. His son, Sir Thomas Rawlinson, vintner, became Lord Mayor in 1706.

The Mitre was burnt in the Fire, and Pepys records seeing Dan Rawlinson looking over his ruins in Fenchurch Street. On August 6th, 1666, Pepys met Battersby, the apothecary, in Fenchurch Street, who pointed out that Dan Rawlinson's door was shut up, and said that "one of his men is now dead of the plague, and his wife and one of his mayds sicke, and himself shut up." This troubled Pepys mightily, and no doubt John Battersby also, since he lived in "the Helmet" which adjoined the Mitre tavern on the west. In the parish registers of St. Dionis' the burials are recorded of Dan Rawlinson's servant, William Chombley, on August 6th, 1666, and on August 9th of Mrs. Margrett Rawlinson wife of Mr. Daniell Rawlinson, and also of the latter's servant, Elizabeth. On August 10th, Pepys refers to these deaths:—"So homeward, and hear in Fanchurch Streete that now the mayde also is dead at Mr. Rawlinson's; so that there are three dead in all, the wife, a man-servant, and mayde-servant." In 1679, "Mr. Daniel Rawlinson, vintner in this parish, bur: in middle Isle," is entered in the St. Dionis' registers. Here are also entered the baptisms of his children, between 1642 and 1651. John Battersby had a large family, baptised at St. Dionis' from 1646 to 1659. His wife was buried in 1678—"Ann Battersby, wife of John Battersbey, Deputy of Lanborne Ward"; and he did not long survive his old neighbour at the Mitre, for he was buried in 1681—"John Battersby of this par., Apothecary." I give these details because he is often mentioned by Pepys in the Diary.

Rawlinson's farthing token is well struck, with a Mitre on the obverse, and considerable interest attaches to it on account of Pepys's frequent visits to the house.

*O.* At the Mitetr. In.—A Mitre.

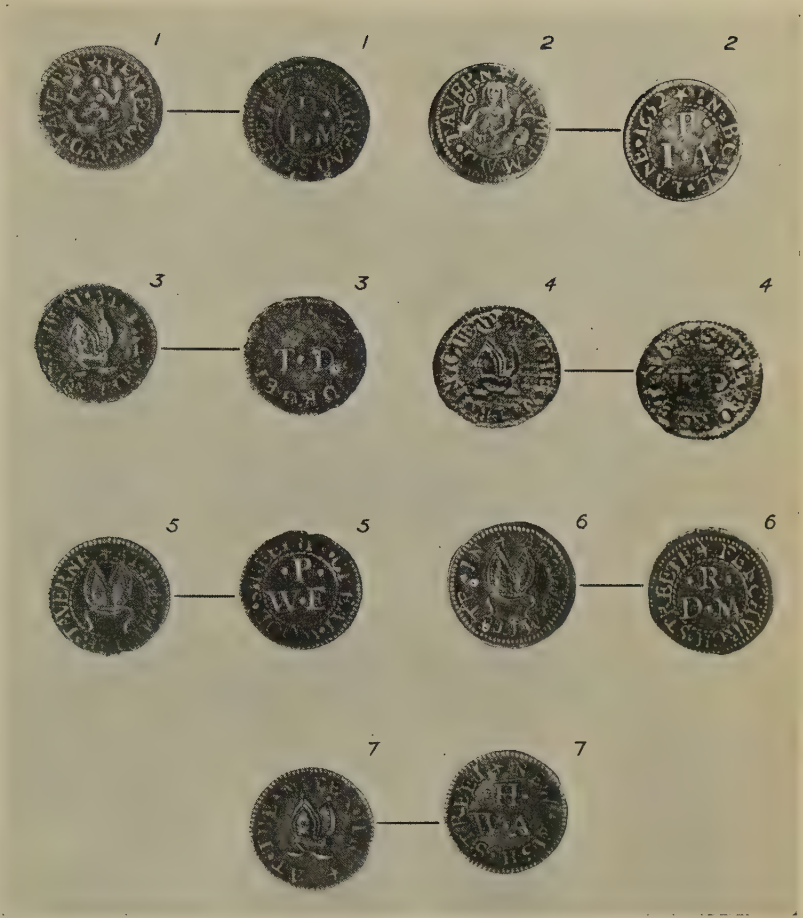
*R.* Fenchurch Streete—D.M.R. [Dan[1] and Margaret Rawlinson].

I have already suggested that the Mitre sign may in this case have originated from some property belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, and mentioned that a court on the east side was called Paul's Alley. The following extract from the Fire Decrees (though it does not actually concern the Mitre tavern itself) rather favours this suggestion. In 1668 Daniel Rawlinson, vintner, was Petitioner against the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, and the evidence shows that the late Dean and Chapter, by Indenture of lease, dated 17 May, 1661, demised to Edmond Pike a messuage in Fenchurch Street, in the parish of St. Dionis . . . which was burnt in the late Fire, and the Petitioner having other ground thereto adjoining, the said E. Pike assigned the said lease to petitioner, who is desirous to rebuild. The Court decreed that 28 years be added to the term of the lease, making it 61 years.[1]

In an earlier Fire Decree, 1667, Daniel Rawlinson appeared as Petitioner against the Company of Pewterers and stated that he was the tenant of the Mitre in Fenchurch Street: his Counsel insisted upon his desire to rebuild the premises, "and to return to the place of his former habitation and there to follow his trade of a vintner"; and he offered to rebuild the said Taverne upon surrendering of his terme of 23 years . . . which he prayed might be made up to 61 years, at the yearly rent of £20. Decree:—The Petitioner to be the rebuilder of the premises; the lease to be for 61 years at the rent of £30. This lease accounts for the long connection of the Rawlinson family with the Mitre Tavern.

The rebuilt tavern was decorated with large wall paintings by Isaac Fuller (1606-1672).

[1] Fire Decrees, Guildhall, Vol. 4, fo. 7.




TOKENS.

1. The Mermaid in Bread Street (see text for description).
2. The Mermaid in Bow Lane.
3. The Mitre in Cheapside.
4. The same from rubbing supplied by Mr. A. H. Baldwin.
5. The Mitre in Wood Street (Wm. Procter).
6. The Mitre in Fenchurch Street (Dan Rawlinson).
7. The Mitre in New Fish Street.

Meetings at the Mitre Tavern are recorded in the accounts of the Pewterers' Company, which owned the house. The Poulterers' Company in 1673, "spent att the Mitre Taverne in Fanchurch Streete—12s. 10d." In the Commonwealth State Papers (vol. 7), in 1654, in the examination of Abraham Granger, a meeting at the Mitre in Fenchurch Street is mentioned. This rather supports the statement made by Dr. Richard Rawlinson, that Dan Rawlinson (his grandfather) painted his Mitre *black*, after the execution of Charles the First; and he was no doubt regarded as a malignant. The Clockmakers' Company held their meetings at the Mitre Fenchurch Street in 1727. It is interesting to note that John Rawlinson, pewterer, used a Mitre as his "touch"—judging from his position in Massé's list of touches, his date was probably about 1675-80, and he was probably Dan Rawlinson's son John, who was baptised at St. Dionis' in 1648.

In 1686, "Margarett Rawlinson, the daughter of S^r^ Thomas Rawlinson, Alderman of this Citty, was buryed near her grandfather's Monument," at St. Dionis'. Sir Thomas, Knight and Alderman, was buried in 1708, "on ye North side of ye Middle Ile, under his Father's tombe stone."

Daniel Rawlinson and John Battersby paid their fees, of 6s. 8d., on September 9th, 1667, for having their sites staked out by the City Surveyors, as entered in the "Day Booke for y^e^ receipts for y^e^ stakeing out of Foundations in the Ruins of the Citty of London." (Guildhall MS.).

On December 8th, 1746, Charles Ratcliffe (brother to the Earl of Derwentwater who was beheaded in 1716) was beheaded on Tower Hill. "Mr. Alderman Winterbottom and Mr. Alderman Alsop, the two Sheriffs, with their Under-Sheriffs, met at the *Mitre* Tavern in Fenchurch Street, and from thence proceeded, the Under-Sheriff in a Mourning-Coach, and the Sheriffs in their Chariots, to the lower End of the Minories."[1] Again, on April 9th, 1747,

[1] Maitland, 1756, i, p. 657.

before the execution of Lord Lovat, " Mr. Alderman Alsop . . . attended by the two under-Sheriffs and the proper Officers with the Executioner, went from the *Mitre* Tavern in Fenchurch Street, to the House hired for them on Tower-Hill."[1] Lord Lovat was the last person who was beheaded in this country. The Mitre ceased to be a tavern about 1770. Its site is now occupied by part of the block of buildings, 157-159 Fenchurch Street, on the east of Lime Street corner.

I have obtained some further interesting and early references to certain taverns dealt with in this work, from the records of the Vintners' Company. For permission to see their early records I am deeply grateful to the Master and Wardens of that Worshipful Company. Unfortunately the references to the *Mermaid* in Bread Street have been obtained too late to be inserted in the history of that tavern in the early part of this book. The earliest *Accounts* preserved commence in Henry VIII's reign, and from that time, all through the 16th century, Company dinners were frequently held at the Bread Street *Mermaid*, which, as I have already shown, was situated not far from Vintners' Hall. I suggested (on p. 19) that David Gittons or perhaps Richard Smythe kept the *Mermaid*, and an entry in 1556 settles this point: " for the hole charges of o$^{r}$ Dynner kept . . . at Mr. Smythes at the Marmayd in Bredstrete." This tavern and, less frequently, the *Three Cranes*, were the houses generally visited by the Company in Tudor times. The personality and importance of certain vintners no doubt brought other houses into favour from time to time. Dinners were held at the *Mitre* in Cheap, especially about 1548, and occasionally at the *White Horse* in Friday Street, the *Star* in Cheap, the *Rose*, the *St. John's Head* at Ludgate, and the *Castle* in Paternoster Row. The *Mitre* in Bread Street was patronised from about 1601 to 1612. The only other

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 659.

*Mermaid* at which I noticed payments, was the tavern in Cornhill, which was often visited from about 1607 to 1617, and a dinner in 1609, "at Mr. Jansons," serves to confirm the correctness of my belief that William Janson kept that house.

It will now be necessary to place the fresh references to some of these Mermaids and Mitres in an *Appendix* at the end of this work, but it seemed to me to be desirable to give this explanation here, especially as one entry (of a dinner at Mr. Hobson's) has been quoted above, in the account of the Fenchurch Street *Mitre*.

## THE MITRE IN FLEET STREET.

### WITH NOTES ON SOME OTHER TAVERNS THERE.

This Mitre tavern has gained considerable notoriety in modern times by the fact that Boswell recorded meetings there with Dr. Johnson, from 1763 onwards. In that year he wrote:—"I had learnt that his place of frequent resort was the Mitre tavern in Fleet Street, where he loved to sit up late." The Mitre 'conversations' have been quoted so often that there is no excuse for doing so again, and most people are familiar with Boswell's famous "Life of Johnson," which not only gave an excellent picture of a certain section of 18th century life in London, but in a sense 'created' Johnson. The occasion of the gathering at Mrs. Garrick's, on April 20th, 1781, when Miss Hannah More, Mrs. Boscawen, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Burney, Boswell, and others were present, affords an excellent example of the way in which Johnson domineered over his circle of admirers. Johnson had spoken of an author who had married a printer's devil—

"Reynolds: 'A printer's devil, Sir! why I thought a printer's devil was a creature with a black face and in rags.' Johnson: 'Yes, Sir. But I suppose he had her face washed, and put clean clothes on her. (then looking very serious and very earnest:) And she did not disgrace him; the woman had a bottom of good

sense.' The word *bottom* thus introduced was so ludicrous when contrasted with his gravity, that most of us could not forbear tittering and laughing . . . he therefore resolved to assume and exercise despotic powers, glanced sternly around, and called out in a strong tone, ' where's the merriment '? Then collecting himself, and looking awful . . . he slowly pronounced, ' I say the *woman* was *fundamentally* sensible,' as if he had said, ' Hear this now, and laugh if you dare.' We all sat composed as at a funeral."

It would be impossible to write of the Mitre in Fleet Street without referring to its connection with Johnson, but this part of its history has been fully dealt with by Mr. W. G. Bell, in *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries*. Mr. Bell also gives many earlier references to the tavern, and Cunningham, 1849, Noble (*Memorials of Temple Bar*), and Thornbury's *Old and New London*, also dealt with it. In the present account I shall avoid, as far as possible, mere repetition of these accounts, but some new facts will be given, with some fresh details about William Paget (who issued the token). The site of Johnson's " Mitre " was afterwards occupied by No. 39 Fleet Street, which became part of Hoare's Bank. Cunningham 1849, assumed that the Mitre in Mitre Court, which still exists, represented the 18th century tavern, but Noble pointed out that the 18th century tavern stood further west, where it is marked in Rocque's Map, 1746. I shall however give some reasons for supposing that the original 17th century tavern stood in Mitre Court or on the west side thereof. In any other case the fact that Ogilby and Morgan, in their map of 1677, give " Myter Court " in its present position, opposite Fetter Lane, would be considered sufficient evidence that the Mitre Tavern stood there, and gave its name to the Court. Mitre Court, which adjoined Ram Alley, stood at the fringe of Whitefriars, the 'Alsatia ' of evil reputation, and itself claimed a share in the notorious privileges. This probably formed the chief attraction of the Mitre in the 17th century, in the middle period of which the tavern

appears to have constantly changed hands, and to have been a house of doubtful reputation or standing.

Maitland[1] says of Whitefriars:—

"Upon the Dissolution of the Priory of Whitefriars, the Church and Buildings in Process of Time became ruinous, and were pulled down . . . and now contain several Courts, Lanes, and Alleys. . . . Some of the Inhabitants taking upon them to protect Persons from Arrests, upon a pretended Privilege belonging to the Place, the Gentry left it, and it became a Sanctuary to the Inhabitants, which they kept up by Force against Law and Justice; so that it was sufficiently crowded with such disabled and loose kind of lodgers, and had the Nick-name of *Alsatia*." He says further: "Ram alley, taken up by Publick Houses, being a Kind of privileged Place for Debtors, before the late Act of Parliament for taking them away: It has a Passage into the Temple"—and, "Mitre-court, an open Place . . . much taken up by Publick Houses: and this Place did pretend the like Privileges as Ram-alley before the said Act."

He also says that the Temples have a passage into Fleet Street through Mitre-court, Ram-alley, and Serjeants-Inn. The back gate from the 'Mitre' to Ram-alley would have played a very important part in the life and custom of the house, and no doubt many a hurried exit took place through it.

Cunningham, 1849, quotes Lodovick Barry's comedy, "Ram Alley," 1611, in which Throat says: 'Meet me strait at the Mitre door in Fleet-street"; and also an extract from the life of Lilly (the astrologer): 'In the year 1640 I met Dr. Percival Willoughby of Derby; . . . we went to the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street, where I sent for old Will Poole the astrologer, living then in Ram Alley.' Mr. Bell quotes an extract from the Wardmote book of St. Dunstan's West of 1603, in which the Mitre was presented: "That there is a back door leading out of Ram Alley to the tenement or tavern called the Miter in Fleetstreete by means whereof such persons as do frequent the house upon search made after them are conveyed out

[1] 1756 Edn. II. p. 962.

that way." This Wardmote Register is preserved at St. Dunstan's, and is in excellent condition, and the various ' nuisances ' which were ' presented ' are both interesting and amusing to us today. As in other parts of Old London very little notice appears to have been taken of the indignant censures of the Inquest, for the same offences were constantly repeated. In 1644 Margaret Denham, at ' the Adam and Eve,' Ram Alley, was presented " for selling ale and bere without lycence, and for keeping a disorderly house haveing a resort both of men and woemen of light behaviour late in the night." In 1649, they presented the Ram Alley inhabitants "' for that they continually bring forth and lay their sea cole ashes and other noysom filth and soyle in the high street before the Alley Gate "; and in 1652, " certain persons inhabiting in Boult and Tunne yard for keeping of hogges to the great Annoyance of neighbours and divers inhabitants dwelling in Fleet Street." These examples from the Register will serve to give an idea of the conditions prevailing in Fleet Street at that time, and to remind us of the difficulty there was in keeping an old town even reasonably clean, especially as there was no adequate water supply. In 1648-9, the widdow Baly dwelling in the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street was presented " for having Company in her house at unlawfull times "—(this was quoted by Noble). John Bayley appears in the list of vintners in 1647.

Rocque, in his map of 1746, marks and names " the Mitre Tavern " a little west of Mitre Court, and with a long entrance passage from Fleet Street, opposite Hen and Chicken Court (by the East end of St. Dunstan's church).

' The Mitre ' is not mentioned amongst the nineteen Fleet Street taverns in the 1698 list, nor in the list of twenty taverns by Strype, 1720. Morden and Lea's Map, 1682, and Strype's, 1720, show Mitre Court, opposite the end of Fetter Lane, and then, to the west, Falcon

Court, opposite St. Dunstan's Church, but do not indicate the separate entry to the Mitre Tavern shown by Rocque. Ogilby and Morgan's map, 1677, does however show a narrow passage, opposite Hen and Chicken Court, which was probably Cat and Fiddle Lane.

It is quite possible that the entry shown by Rocque took the place of an earlier entry from Mitre Court.

It must be remembered that a very few paces bring the pedestrian from Mitre Court entry to Hoare's Bank. The following extracts from various records concern the Mitre: I shall only refer briefly to those from the State Papers etc., which have already been quoted by Mr. W. G. Bell. 1629.—There is a petition from Mrs. Sutton, keeper of the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street. Her house has been shut up, but there does not appear any crime against her. 1639.—A letter from G. Garrard to Edward, Viscount Conway . . . . Charles Cotton, being drunk, would have taken a woman from Sir John Hunt, and pushed her to go into the Mitre Tavern, upon which grew a quarrel. They both drew, Sir John was hurt in the belly but it missed his guts.[1] 1639, Star Chamber.—Complaint made by the Master and Wardens of the Vintners' Company that Matthew Alsop, a tavern-keeper of the Mitre in Fleet Street, having four pieces of Spanish wines sent to his house and being required to receive the same as other vintners do, utterly refused to take these wines . . . . . Ordered that Alsop shall either take off the said wines between this and Sunday next, or else that his Tavern shall be on Monday morning suppressed, and he not suffered to keep it or sell any more wines by retail.

The Mitre belonged to a family named Webb in the first half of the 17th century, and possibly formed part of the premises of the Messuage called ' the Cat and Fiddle,' which was sold to Henry Webb, merchant-tailor, in

[1] Quoted fully in " Fleet Street in Seven Centuries, p. 493."

1568 (see later). Henry Webb made a bequest to St. Dunstan's Church in 1609.

Commonwealth, State Papers, Committee for Compounding Cases:—28 Oct. 1651, John Webb, Recusant :

"He begs leave to have without rent his Mansion house (the Mitre Tavern) in Fleet Street, two thirds of which was sequestered for his recusancy and let to a vintner but it is now untenanted. He has a wife and four children, besides servants, and has no mansion house; the State received two-thirds of his lands in the country." 29 Dec., 1652. "Anchor Archer and Elizabeth his wife, administratrix of William Millington, beg relief from payment of four years arrears of Rent for the Mitre Tavern belonging to William Webb in 1616, but sequestered for the recusancy of John Webb his grandson. It was let to Wm. Millington, but the tenants refusing to pay rent on account of the sequestration it stood empty. The County Committee have let it now to John Webb, much below its value, but they claim from the petitioners the four years arrears of rent."

1654. Report in favour of Webb's holding the tavern as his mansion house, the Archers bringing no proof of their claim.

Philip Dallowe at ye Mitre in Fleet Street is mentioned in the 1641 poll-tax list of vintners, and presumably succeeded the defiant Alsop in 1639-40, in which latter year he is in the list of vintners in St. Dunstan's West. He was probably in Bow Lane before 1652, when Margaret, d. of Phillip and Elizabeth Dallowe was baptised at St. Mary Aldermary; and Eliz'th, wife of Mr. Philip Dallowe, vintner, was buried there in 1654. The Mitre was probably let to John Bayley in 1647, in which year he appears in the list of vintners in the Wardmote Book of St. Dunstan's West. In 1648-9, widow Baly takes his place, and was presented, as already related. The *widows* appear to have been troublesome, for on the same occasion the widow Hicks, dwelling at the Fountain Tavern, was presented for the like offence. The widow Sutton, mentioned in the State Papers in 1629, was no doubt the widow of Isaac Sutton,

who is in the list of vintners in the Wardmote Book in 1622, and who is mentioned in a list of the Vintners' Company as early as 1608.

In 1658, William Paget probably occupied the Mitre. In 1660, Paget is replaced by Hugh Stedman, who appears in the lists of vintners in St. Dunstan's West, and the position of his name in the parish lists shows that he was in the position of the Mitre, between Ram Alley and Falcon Court. In a parish list of 1660 he is given as "Hugh Stedman vintner and 4 servants." (MS. parish lists, tithes etc., at St. Dunstan's West).[1]

William Paget issued a token "At the Miter in Fleet Stret, W.E.P.," and it is naturally assumed in the notes in Williamson and Boyne's 'Traders' Tokens' that he was the vintner at the tavern. He does not appear in the lists of vintners, but appears in one list of the Licensed Victuallers in the St. Dunstan's Wardmote Book, in 1653. He is not mentioned again in the lists of that trade or amongst the vintners, but his name appears in a parish list in 1658. Noble, 'Memorials of Temple Bar,' says of the Mitre that the house was "very much demolished and decaied in severall parts, and the Balcony was on Fire and pulled downe," during the Great Fire. I came across what I presume to have been the source of this statement in the Fire Decrees,[2] and it would seem that Noble noticed the name of William Paget, and so assumed that the house concerned was the Mitre Tavern. Surely the Tavern, whether in the Court or in the position of No. 39, could hardly have escaped the Fire so lightly?

In the case alluded to, Samuel Hull was petitioner v. Henry Sparkes, and it is stated that George Sparkes and Elizabeth his wife by lease in 1646 demised to William Paget a tenement in Fleet Street in the parish of St.

[1] I am much indebted to the Rev. H. Lionel James, Rector of St. Dunstan's West, for permission to examine the interesting parish and Wardmote records at the Church.

[2] Guildhall, Vol. ii, fo. 801.

Dunstan West, for 31 years at a rent of £30 p.a. In 1657 it was assigned to Thomas Drinkwater, who since assigned it to Thomas Hull in 1663. Thomas Hull and George Sparkes are deceased, and Henry Sparkes is the latter's son. . . . . "That the said house was very much demolished and defaced in severall places and that the Ballcony was on fire and pulled downe in the time of the late dreadfull fire, and that the repairing and amending thereof cost the petitioners £30, besides loss for the want of the Messuage." Samuel Hull was granted a lease for 21 years. The story of the burning of "the Mitre" balcony has been taken by various writers from Mr. Noble's account, but there seems to be no evidence that the house in question was 'the Mitre Tavern.' (See later for position of G. Sparkes in 1638 tithes list). Further evidence that William Paget was at "the Mitre" (in addition to his token) is supplied by the order of names in the Middle Precinct of St. Dunstan's West, in parish lists of 1658 and 1661. Following Ram Alley, the list is headed "Street Side," and in 1658 the names run:—John Sumner 4s., William Lee 12s.,[1] William Pagett 12s., Wm. Bromley 12s. Some distance beyond the last name (*i.e.* westwards in Fleet Street) we find Marke Catesby, 9s., and John Pargiter 16s., which is of interest as helping to locate 'the Mitre,' for both these individuals are shown, in the Survey of sites after the Fire, to have had houses in and adjoining 'Cat and Fiddle Court.' The order of the list therefore suggests that "the Mitre" was then in the position of Mitre Court. In 1661-2, the names in "Street Side" are these: John Sumner, William Lee, Hugh Stedman, . . . . Mark Catesby, John Pargiter. I have already pointed out that H. Stedman was a vintner, and I have no doubt he was at the Mitre. Wm. Paget was evidently there in 1658, when he probably issued his token, and also started a music room, for I shall show that "the

[1] William Lee was a stationer, who lived at the sign of 'the Turk's Head.'

Mitre" in St. Paul's Churchyard, which was noted for its music-room, was leased to William Paget in 1662. In 1660 he had evidently joined the Vintners' Company, for his name appears in a list of Searchers of that Company. I suspect that he was related to William Paget who was one of the "King's Violins," and that the Banister (mentioned by Pepys in his puzzling reference to the Mitre) was John Bannister, also one of the King's violinists. Pepys recorded on Jan. 21st, 1660: "At the Mitre in Fleet Street, on our way calling on Mr. Fage . . . . Thence to the Mitre, where I drank a pint of wine, the house being in fitting for Banister to come hither from Paget's." On Feb. 18th 1660, he wrote: "Thence he took me to the Mitre in Fleet Street, where we heard (in a room over the music room) very plainly through the ceiling." In the lists of the King's Musicians (H. C. de Lafontaine) I find in August 1664, "William Pagett appointed Musician for the Violin Extraordinary." He is also mentioned in 1674-5, and it seems possible that this was the same individual, or, more probably, his son. In the Church Registers of St. Andrew Undershaft I noticed the marriage in 1637 of William Paget and Elizabeth Watkins, whose name agrees with the wife's initial on the Mitre token.—W.E.P.

Banister, mentioned by Pepys in 1660 as coming from Paget's, was probably John Bannister, the King's Musician. Wheatley's edition of the Diary, under date June 18th, 1668, gives a note about him—he gave concerts "over against the George Tavern in Whitefriars." He appears in many lists of the King's Violins ("The King's Musick," by Lafontaine) from 1661 to 1679-80, when he is mentioned as "deceased." Thomas Purcell is also in these lists. His music room opposite the George in Whitefriars was close to the Mitre; and a good picture of the George and its frequenters is given by Shadwell in his entertaining play, "the Squire of Alsatia."

That the house of which the balcony was burnt lay some

distance *west* of Mitre Court is confirmed by the tithes list of St. Dunstan's West parish in the Lambeth MS. of 1638, where we find George Sparkes (who is mentioned in the Fire Decree quoted above as having demised the house to Wm. Paget in 1646) eight names beyond (*i.e.* west of) Catesby and Pargiter, and four names after Thomas Cole, whom I find in the parish lists, in Falcon Court. The tithes list gives Christopher Fisher in Ram Alley. He was a vintner, and probably kept "the Ram." After Ram Alley, in Fleet Street, we again find Wm. Lee, and then Mrs. Male widow—I find her in the list of vintners in St. Dunstan's West in 1636, and, from her position in the tithes list, she was no doubt at the Mitre (I think I have transcribed her name correctly, though, in a hurried copying of a long list, one can easily make an error in a name which one does not recognise as of any particular interest). In the 1638 tithes list she is followed by Thomas Smith, then Thomas Leake, Esqre. for 3 houses, (it will be seen later that Ed. Hinson sold, in 1637, part of the "Cat and Fiddle" to Thomas Leeke of Grays Inn)—then follow James Wansford (2 houses), Edward Peirce, Will$^{m}$ Sumner, Will$^{m}$ Wilson, R. Higgins, Catesby and Pargiter.

I am conscious that these lists of names from various MS. records make dull reading, but they afford strong evidence that the earlier *Mitre* was near Ram Alley, probably on the west side of Mitre Court.

To return to the Mitre:—The following extract, from a deed of 1716 in the Hustings Rolls, concerns it:—

Abraham Blackmore of the Inner Temple, Thomas Bold of Christ Church, Oxford, Gent., son and heir of William Bold, late Vintner, George Champion wine cooper and Katherine his wife, one of the daughters of the said Wm. Bold . . . sell for £1600 . . . All those two messuages at the lower end of a court formerly called Catt and Fiddle Court—formerly in the occupation of Katharine Bold, widow deceased, and since then in possession of James Smith, vintner, and now of John Innocent vintner, and

used by all of them as part of the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street . . . together with all ways, passages, entries, etc. (H.R. 359-7).

In 1699 at St. Paul's Cathedral,

" John Watts, vintner, at ye signe of ye Mytre near St. Dunstan's in ye West in flete street was married to Barbara Bold of ye same parish."

It was at the Mitre tavern in 1733 that Topham, the strong man, rolled up a large pewter dish with his hands. Noble says that John Innocent was then the vintner. The Society of Antiquaries met for many years at the tavern during the middle third of the 18th century. The house ceased to be a tavern in 1788 (Noble).

Mr. J. P. Collier, the authority on the Early English Stage, was shown a MS. collection of songs and poems in the handwriting of a person named Richard Jackson, which was in the possession of " Mr. Thorpe, the enterprising bookseller of Bedford Street "—One of these was headed: ' Shakespeare's Rime which he made at the Mytre in Fleete Streete '. . . Another shorter piece is called in the margin, ' Shakespeare's Rime ':

" Give me a Cup of rich Canary Wine,
Which was the Mitre's (drink) and now is mine; "

Mr. Collier added that he had " little doubt that the lines are genuine ": those just quoted, " Shakespeare's Rime," certainly are (with alterations), but were written by *Ben Jonson* in Epigram 101, ' Inviting a friend to supper,' and run thus:—

" But that which most doth take my Muse and me,
Is a pure cup of rich Canary wine,
Which is the Mermaid's now, but shall be mine."

The deed of 1716 already quoted shows that the Mitre adjoined Cat and Fiddle Court. Mr. Bruce-Williamson (the authority on the history of the Temple) kindly informs me that Besant called the passage leading to the Mitre " Cat and Fiddle Lane." The ' Cat and Fiddle ' was evidently a large messuage at one time, and probably

extended from Mitre Court westwards to about the position of No. 39 Fleet Street. I have found several deeds concerning it, but unfortunately they do not assist us to locate it more exactly. In Mills and Oliver's Survey after the Fire there are several sites marked out " in Catt and Fiddle Court." Mr. Mark Catesby's cellar under Mr. Pargetter's yard had Cat and Fiddle Court on the East, and Mr. Catesby's site in the Court is also described.

### 'The Cat and Fiddle.'

1568. Richard Tonge and Elizabeth his wife . . . confirm to Henry Webbe Merchant Taylor and Helen his wife " the romes, shops, cellars and yards situate in Fleet Street in the parish of St. Dunstan, called " le Catte and fiddle," which now are in the separate occupation of Henry Webbe and Edward Adams, of which one parcell lies between the tenement in which Elizabeth Kynnyat inhabits on the East and south, the tenement of Wm. Newton on the west and the high street on the north."[1]— In the Lond. Inq. P.M. Elizabeth Kennet is said to have been seized of the tenement called the Catt and Fiddle in 1589. 1625. Edward Hinson cutler and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Stephen Bragge late vintner, grant to Richard Dodd, Gent. . . . all those messuages in the tenure of Edward Hinson and John Morecrofte Apothecary and John Muncke Armourer, being late parcell of a capital messuage called " the Catt and Fiddle " in or near Fleet Street.[2] Unfortunately these deeds do not enable us to locate the *exact* site of Cat and Fiddle Court or the capital messuage of that name. A parish list of St. Dunstan's in 1666, in the Middle Precinct, immediately after Ram Alley gives several names " Behind the Myter "; then follows " Street side," and amongst the names are those of William Lee, and further on, Mark Catesby and John Pargiter.

[1] H.R. 256 (63).
[2] H.R. 302 (23).

This would seem to place the Mitre in the position of Mitre Court.

In another deed in the H.R., 1637, Edward Hinson sells to Thomas Leeke of Gray's Inn a messuage, " being late parcell of a great messuage called by the name of the Catt and fiddle." I have already mentioned that in the 1638 Tithes list " Thomas Leake Esq. for 3 houses " is the third name after Wm. Lee (west of Ram Alley). The above notes do not enable us to say positively whether " the Mitre " was the name given to a portion of the " Cat and Fiddle " property or merely adjoined it, and Henry Webbe's will, 1610 (a copy of which I have seen at Somerset House) gives no further details. This concludes the remarks I have to offer concerning the Mitre; some further details of Wm. Paget will be found under the Mitre in St. Paul's Churchyard.

I have since found a confirmation of his translation from the Licensed Victuallers to the Vintners in the records of the latter Company, 1656. ' Spent and given away by our Masters appointm[t] at the Myter in fleete streete after dinner when Mr. Padgett was translated, xvis.' This is the only reference that I came across to this tavern, though the Mitres in Cheap, Bread Street and Fenchurch Street were often visited by the Company (see the extracts from the Vintners' records in the Appendix).

George Sparkes, who demised *the balcony house* to Paget in 1646, was also a licensed victualler, so the house was probably an *eating-house* Paget probably moved to the *Mitre* when he became a vintner, in 1656.

## SOME FAMOUS FLEET STREET TAVERNS.

### The *Devil*, the *King's Head* and the *Horn*.

Before leaving this western end of Fleet Street, I propose to give some notes concerning the above houses, and also some extracts from MS. lists of the parish in the Church Records, the P.R.O., and the 1638 Lambeth tithes list. The general history of Fleet Street has been fully written already, and notably in Mr. W. G. Bell's " Fleet Street in

Seven Centuries," and I only propose to add some fresh matter concerning the above taverns, and certain other houses and inhabitants near them, in the 17th century. As a collector and student of the remarkable series of 17th century tokens, I am also able to give the names of some of the issuers (not known to Williamson and Boyne) and some further details concerning them.

### The South side of Fleet Street, west of the Mitre.

In the 1638 tithes list, after John Pargiter (in Cat and Fiddle Court) comes Edward East, and, in a parish list of 1658, Thomas Grice follows him. A Fire Decree shows that John Cox, saddler, leased his house " known by the signe of the Cock in Fleet Street " to Thomas Grice in 1658.

Three names beyond Ed. East in the tithes list is Thomas Cole, who was in Falcon Court, now at No. 32, and four names beyond him we find " George Sparkes for 2 houses " (the owner of the house of which the balcony was burnt). George Sparkes appears in a list of *licensed victuallers* in 1655. Next him comes " the Greene Wax Office." At Hercules Pillars Alley (at No. 27). several names are given, and Edward Oldham and William King amongst them. Both doubtless kept " ordinaries," and probably Pepys's many meals at Hercules Pillars were at Oldham's. He was an unlicensed victualler in St. Dunstan's Parish in 1657, and in the lists of Cooks, 1661-6, and later. He issued a token " at ye Hercules Pillars." Perhaps Oldham succeeded the issuer of the token with initials I.S. (John Symonds, licensed victualler ?). William King issued one " att ye [a crown] in Hercules Pillers " in 1664. He is in parish lists 1661-67 (and perhaps later) and was doubtless the host when Pepys went in Jan., 1668, " to a little ordinary in Hercules Pillars Ally—the Crowne, a poor sorry place, where a fellow, in twelve years, hath gained an

estate of, as he says, £600 a year,"—and he had a good dinner there.

Henry Pinkney, goldsmith, kept " the Three Squirrels " (now Barclay's Bank, Nos. 18-19 Fleet Street). In the parish poll list of 1666 he had a wife, a son William, two apprentices and a maid-servant. In 1662 (Hearth Tax list) following Pinkney are Withers Cheney 7, Abell Roper (stationer) 8, Humphry Tucky 17, Edwd. Peacock (lic. victualler) 17, Edward Pinkney 6. West of Inner Temple Gate, at No. 17, we find Richard Gwynne in several lists, up to 1671. Next this corner house came James Farr, at " the Rainbow," who was presented as a nuisance in 1657 on account of the noxious smell of his *coffee*. He appears in the lists regularly up to 1671 (and later no doubt, for he died in 1681). In the parish poll list of 1666, he had a wife and child, three apprentices and a maid-servant.

Next him Daniel Packman appears in the lists, who published " at the sign of the Rainbow," and doubtless had a shop by the entry. John Barwell, the King's Saddler, was next to the corner of Middle Temple Gate (on the east side). Pepys, on Aug. 20th, 1662, went " to one Mr. Barwell, Squire sadler to the King . . . we had a venison pasty . . . the mistress of the house a pretty well-carriaged woman . . . and her maid a pretty brown lass." On July 13th, 1664 he had another venison pasty there. In the poll list of 1666 he paid for his wife, six children, and 2 apprentices. In 1682, Mr. Henry Barwell's site is shown in Oliver and Mills's Survey, with " Dick's Coffee House " on its south side.

### " The Saint Dunstan and the Devil " Tavern.

A few names beyond Barwell (between Middle Temple Gate and Temple Bar) we find the vintners at " the Devil Tavern." Simon Wadlow kept it in Ben Jonson's time, from about 1607 to 1627. The following quotation from

Ben Jonson's "The Staple of News" (Act II., Sc. 1) mentions Simon, and also serves to illustrate the fashions of the time, 1625, as regards meals at taverns etc.

*Pennyboy senior.* "Where is't you eat?" *Pennyboy junior* "Hard by, at Picklock's lodging, Old Lickfinger's the cook, here in Ram-Alley." *P. Sen.* "He has good cheer; perhaps I'll come and see you." *Pennyboy Canter* [*P. junior's father disguised*]. "O fie! an alley, and a Cook's shop, gross! . . . Let your meat rather follow you to a tavern . . . Dine in Apollo with Pecunia, At brave Duke Wadloe's."—*P. jun.* "Content, i' faith; our meat shall be brought thither. Simon the king will bid us welcome."

In the earliest existing Court Book of the Vintners' Company there is a quaint entry concerning Wadlow and his sign. I am greatly indebted to Sir George Truscott, Bart., and to Mr. Charles Lomas, Clerk to the Company, for kindly permitting me to see this book. The entry runs thus:—

"8 Aug., 1608. *Wadlow.* "This day Simon Wadlowe was required to reforme his signe of St. Dunstan and the Divell and to put the Divell Cleane out of yt and to leave St. Dunstan aloane, and he hath promised so to reforme yt as in the Discretion of twoe of the Assistants of this Compᵉ shalbe thought wᵗhin 14 dayes."

I think that Simon's widow was succeeded by John Bathurst. John Gent, the vintner at the King's Head, in his will, 1612, speaks of Simon Wadlow as his cousin, and John Wadlowe his godson.

In 1646 John Wadlow, Simon's son, appears in the Wardmote lists of vintners, in the position of Widow Bathurst in 1644. Pepys saw him on April 22nd, 1661, in Charles II's Coronation procession, leading "a fine company of soldiers, all young comely men, in white doublets." He issued the token "At the D. and Dunstans [St. Dunstan pulling the devil's nose with tongs] within Temple Barre." In the 1660 poll list of St. Dunstan's he had 2 daughters and 5 servants. On Sept. 25th, 1660, he wrote to the churchwardens (to be excused from serving as scavenger)—"I now give you in writing that as I am

the Kings Servant I cannot hold any office, to give you further satisfaction since I conceive you give not credit to what I told you"—(refers them to the Privy Seal Office).—" This is all at present from your reall freind, Jo: Wadlowe." A similar letter (in the MS. Vestry Records) was received from John Barwell, the King's Saddler.

Jonathan Barford succeeded him at "the Devil" in 1660-1 and appears in his place in the parish lists. In the 1666 parish "poll" he had a wife, 3 apprentices, 1 journeyman, and 2 maid-servants. In a hearth tax list of 1662 he was assessed on 19 hearths. He doubtless issued the token "At . S . Dunstans Tavern at Temple Barr," with initials I.A.B. This name was not known to Williamson and Boyne, nor do they appear to have recognised this as "the Devil" tavern. Richard Taylor had taken his place in 1668, and was there until 1681. In a parish list of 1671 (a rate for the pavements), William Pinckney (who replaces Henry of earlier lists) is the third name east of Inner Temple Gate, on the west side of which are, Richard Gwyn, James Farr, Adam Piggott—John Barwell (the saddler) is six names later, next to the east corner of Middle Temple Gate. Between this and Temple Bar I will give the list of names, as they may interest many people, and particularly those interested in Messrs. Child's Banking House.

"John Withers 13 (*yards*), Wm. Stamper 17, Richard Taylor 6, Ralph Hulls 11 (he was a pewterer, and Master in 1682), John Starkey 12, Thomas Postern 6 ("the Sugar Loaf," probably with a passage entry), George Smith 15." I cannot pretend to say how the *yards* were measured.

In a late Hearth Tax list of 1674 (P.R.O. $\frac{43}{252}$), Edward Oldham (Hercules Pillars) still appears, assessed on 12 hearths, and William Pinkney 7 hearths. James Farr (23), John Barwell (7), Richard Taylor (27), John Starkey (8), Robert Blanchard (9). The last named was one of the founders of Child's Bank, but is given in the 1677 Directory

as "Richard Blanchard *and* Child, at the Marygold in Fleet-Street." Richard Taylor issued a half-penny token "At Temple Barr." In the history of the Vintners' Company, p. 94, it is stated that Dan Rawlinson's son, Sir Thomas, "married . . . daughter of . . . Taylor, Vintner, who kept the Devil Tavern by the Temple." The many references to "the Devil" tavern and its Apollo room by the old writers have been often quoted:—the following is perhaps less known—James Shirley, in "Love in a Maze," 1631, makes Caperwit say:—

"If I meet you in Apollo, a pottle of the best Ambrosia in the house shall waite upon you."

William Rowley, in "A Match at Midnight," 1633, makes some entertaining references to the sign, on which the *devil* was again depicted.

*Bloodhound.* "As you come by Temple bar make a step to the Devil."

*Tim.* "To the Devil father"?

*Sim.* "My master means the sign of the Devil; and he cannot hurt you, fool, there's a saint holds him by the nose."

*Tim.* "Sniggers what does the devil and a saint both in a Sign."

*Sim.* "What a question that . . . What does my master and his prayer book o' Sunday both in a pew"?

The Sugar Loaf.—Thomas Postern (or Poston), in the 1671 list, also appears amongst the Licensed Victuallers 1659-64, etc. In 1668, "Thos Posterne at y^e^ Sugar Loaf nr. Temple Barr" was one of a list of victuallers who "Doe sell Ale and Beere in unsealed and small measures as Muggs and Canns." William King in Hercules Alley had 25 Muggs. Robert Cole in Falcon Court (who issued the token at the Cannon in Hercules Alley) was another, while Edward Mountford at the Sunne in Fetter Lane "shewed himself a disobedient person of high vilifieing and insulting language to the s^d^ Inquest."

Pepys drank at the Sugar Loaf on Feb. 10th, 1660, and dined there in March 1669. Hilton Price says that it stood "immediately in the rear of the Marygold, and

the kitchen of the present bank is a part of those premises." On the *north* side of Fleet Street, in St. Dunstan's parish, stood the Cock Ale-house, and the two most famous taverns in Fleet Street, the King's Head and the Horn. "The Cock," which was an ale-house, not a *tavern*, before the Fire, was frequently visited by Pepys after the theatre. It appears to have had an unusually good standing for an "ale-house," and in the 19th century was noted for its stout and chops. It originally stood at No. 201, near the corner of Chancery Lane. Strype, 1720, called the Cock Ale-house "a noted publick-house." I need not repeat the stories of its modern fame, or Tennyson's lines concerning it. An illustration of its token in 1655 (from a specimen in my possession) is given in the plate of Fleet Street tokens.

The Churchwardens of St. Dunstans' repeatedly mention the King's Head and the Horn taverns and their vintners. I shall only have space here, however, to give a brief resumé of my notes concerning them.

*The King's Head.* There has been some doubt as to the site of this tavern, due to the fact that it was identified for a long time with the handsome old house at the south *west* corner of Chancery Lane. It stood however close to the south *east* corner, where it is marked by Rocque, 1746. Ogilby and Morgan, 1677, mark the house, with two narrow passage entries, from Chancery Lane and Fleet Street, but do not *name* it. The tokens and their issuers, whose *names* I shall give in these notes, show that it stood at Chancery Lane end, and the vintners' names in the parish lists also show that it was close to the *east* of the lane. Like its neighbours, the Flying Horse and the Bull Head, it stood between Chancery Lane and St. Dunstan's Church, with Clifford's Inn to the north. In the old lists of vintners and taverns (see the account of the Bread Street Mermaid) I have shown that the King's Head, the Horn and the Rose were the three Fleet Street

taverns permitted in 1554. John Gent kept the tavern from about 1585 to 1613, and in 1598 he was presented for defective wines (together with Henry Radcliff at the Horne, and Henry Harvey at the Flying Horse, Wm. Hart at the Ramme, and Christopher Allinson at the Greyhound, all in Fleet Street). John Gent " vyntner at the Kyngs head in fleete Street " was also presented in 1588, and a hogshead of wine in his cellar was presented in 1609. In 1572, Henry Redhouse " at the Kinges head Temple barr " was presented (and this was probably the same tavern, as the descriptions of locality were often rather general) as well as William Lerchead " at the Rosse Flete bridge."

I have found John Gent's will at Somerset House (99 Capell), and it contains some interesting matter, so I will give an abstract. 1612, John Gent, vintner. To be buried in the church of St. Dunstan in the West " neare unto the pewe where I use to sytt (yf it convenientlie maye be)." Bequests to his brother Thomas Gent, vintner, £100 and to the latter's children £50 each. " Item I give and bequeath to my cosyn Symon Wadlowe . . . vintner the some of one hundred poundes. Item . . . to John Wadlowe my Godchild the some of fiftie pounds " at the age of 21 years. Bequests to his late servants, and to Robert Blott of Warden Abbey in the County of Bedford. [Symon Wadlowe's wife's surname was Blott]. Various bequests to Bedford etc. " To my lady Ventris to buye her a Ringe " . . . 40s., and to her son Henry £10. To the churchwardens of St. Dunstan's for a dinner or supper after his burial, for the parishioners, £10. Rings of 40s. to various friends, to be engraved (*Ex dono Joh'is Gent*). To Thomas Wallys vintner £10 and to Thos. Whitton his servant £10. Mentions his three tenements in Chancery Lane, and " the sheddes or shoppes adjoyning to my messuage or tenement called the Kinges head " (sheds or shops now in the tenure of eight persons, one being Samuel Hutchin). Remainder (of certain property)

" to John Wadlowe my godsonne and sonne of Symon Wadlowe." Appoints his sister, Joane Barker, executrix, and leaves her " all that the messuage . . . or Taverne nowe called . . . the Kings head . . . in Fleete Streete now in my owne . . . occupacon and all the shoppes or sheddes to the same adjoyninge and also the three messuages in Chancerie lane in or neare Flete street." To all his menservants mourning cloakes, and mourning coats to his women servants. " To my cosyn Symon Wadlowe and his wyfe mourning cloathes." A cloak to Raphe Briscoe, Robert Patenson (his successor ?), Richard Taylor, and others.

John Gent was probably succeeded by Robert Pattison, who takes his place in the St. Dunstan's lists of vintners after 1612 (though he appears as early as 1609 when he was perhaps an assistant). John Marshall was at the King's Head in 1629. Thomas Kent appears in the lists of vintners in 1630, and until 1660. In the Lambeth Tithes list, 1638, his rent is £70, and the names following him are: " John Ashby, Richard Antrobus, John Marriott for 2 houses "—(the publisher, in St. Dunstan's Church yard).

Three shops evidently adjoined the tavern entrance in Fleet Street, and (after Chancery Lane, taken eastwards from Temple Bar and Bell Yard) the occupants of these shops are generally given before the vintner. In 1659 Thomas Kent comes after Eliz. Amstead's stall (in Fleet Street, after Chancery lane) the names running thus: —Thos. Jones, Math. Carvile, Eliz. Amstead, Mr. Thos. Kent. In another parish list of this year his name stands first. In a poll list of 1660, after Bell Yard, we find John Batwill, vintner, and 5 servants (he issued the token at the Lion Tavern at Temple Bar, John Battell)—then comes Chancery Lane, and then (the 3rd name in Fleet Street) " Mr. Thomas Kent, vintner, hath been warden," and 6 servants. In a later parish list of 1660, replacing his

name in the same position, we find "Henry Morris and Lewis Willson," after Eliz. Amstead's stall. I have given these full details to confirm the position of the King's Head tavern, which has been a matter of doubt—otherwise they would be inexcusably dull! In 1661 I find Willson and Morris in the same position in two lists. "Thomas Jones shoppe, Jervays Grants shopp, Eliz. Amstead's stall, L. Wilson and Hen. Morris"—followed by John Bryan (of the Bull's Head, where he issued tokens) and, a few names later, "Clifford's Inne" ends the list. Later in 1661-2 Lewis Wilson alone appears in this position, and in the poll list of 1666, Will[m] Marte and his wife, 4 apprentices and 2 maid servants. W. Mart had previously issued a token at the Queen's Head in Fleet Street. Lewis Wilson moved to the Strand, where he issued a token at the King's Head in 1666.

With this knowledge we can better follow the tokens of the King's Head, remembering that the *names* of the issuers, Thomas Kent and Lewis Willson and Henry Morris, were unknown to Williamson and Boyne. "The Kings Head Tavern (bust of Henry VIII,) at Chancery Lane End, T.A.K." *W. and B.* quote Noble's '*Memorials of Temple Bar*,' and Roger North—the 'King's Head' being described (about 1680) as "over against the Inner Temple Gate, next Chancery Lane"; and also Ned Ward, in the '*London Spy*,' 1718: "The King's Head Tavern at Chancery-Lane End, where, at this time, the Honestest Vintner in London lives, where the best Wine in England is to be Drunk." The next token is, "At the Kings Head (bust of Henry VIII,) in Fleet Streete—L.W. and H.M." The third token reads:—"William Mart Chancery Lane End in Fleet Street"—W.K.M.—His Halfe Peny"—(bust of Hen. VIII,). In the Churchwardens' Accounts many dinners at the King's Head are recorded, of which these are examples:—"Item paid Mr. Kent for a dynner at the kings head Taverne" and, "Item Paid to Thos.

Kent for 10 gallons Muskadell 46s. 8d." In 1659 Mr. Kents' account for the annual dinner was called in question—"his said Accompt 5li. 18s. laid out for a dinner on St. Thomas Day . . . which was conceived to be more than had been formerly expended upon that occasion,"—however later on his account was passed. The above notes are mainly from MS. sources, and I will now give a few early references to the King's Head from various printed sources.

In the Index to the *Charters*, &c., in the British Museum, there is mentioned a Covenant for money to be paid over in the 'King's Head' Tavern at the end of Chancellor's Lane in Fleet Street, in 1472.

The Pewterers' Company (Welch's History) 1478. "Itm. P$^{d}$ to the Coke of the tempill for steyn metts which was spente at the kynges hedde 4s. 8d." 1531-2. Itm. pd. for dynner at the Kings hede in flet stret for the kyngs atarnaye the kyngs Celister Mr. Cromwell the master and warden . . . 9s." "Item on Saint Matthewes even payed for dynner at the kyngs hed in fletstret for the kings atornaye Mr. Cromwell."—In the State Papers, in 1531, in the accounts of Edward late Lord Dudley, there are expenses for dinners given at the King's Head in Fleet Street. In 1532 "Mr. Thos. Broke at the sign of the King's Head within Temple Bar" is mentioned.—He appears to have then kept the tavern. In Vol. viii, 1535, a letter is addressed to Thos. Broke in Flete Strete at the Kyngis Hedde. In 1629 (quoted by Bell) there is a petition from Mrs. Sutton keeper of the Mitre Tavern and John Marshall keeper of the King's Head Tavern to be restored to liberty—there does not appear to be any crime against either. To return for a moment to the three shops by (or under) the tavern. In 1646 three persons were presented by the Inquest "for an Annoyance to Thomas Kent vintner by darkening and stopping up the lights behind their shops w$^{h}$ should yssue into his house."

Noble says that Richard Marriot, subsequently Isaac Walton's publisher, kept shop in 1665 under the King's Head Taverne. John Marriot had a shop in St. Dunstan's churchyard. The 1650 edition of John Donne's poems was " Printed for John Marriot, and are to be sold by Rich[d] Marriot at his shop by Chancery lane end over against the Inner Temple Gate."

Isaac Walton's name appears in Chancery Lane in the 1638 Tithes list.

A story is related (in *Coffee House Jests*, 1760) of ' A Gentleman having drunk very hard at the *King's Head Tavern*, came reeling out, up Chancery Lane, and chanced to reel within the rails of the Pump, and kept his motion round so long that he was tired.' He inquired where he was, and was told, ' over against the Chancery.'

*The Horn Tavern.* I have already mentioned that this ancient tavern has belonged to the Goldsmith's Company for over five hundred years. It became Anderton's Coffee House, now Anderton's Hotel, at No. 164 Fleet Street. Elsewhere I have already given some references to the Horn Tavern, from 1553 onwards. Henry Radcliffe, the vintner there, was presented for defective wine in 1587 (three hogsheads) and in 1595 and 1598. The St. Dunstan's lists of vintners show that he was there in 1607, and in 1609 Widow Radcliffe took his place. Probably Henry Parkinson succeeded her; I find his name in the 1619 list of vintners, and in 1628. Sir William Prideaux (History of the Goldsmiths' Company) quotes from the Companys' records in 1624:—the Company lease the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street to one Parkinson a vintner for 21 years, for a fine of £250 . . . and to provide the Company with one good fat buck of the season and 1 tierce of wine . . . and one other buck on a subsequent occasion. (R. Fuller had to provide the Fishmongers' Company with " a good fat buck " as part of his rent for the Bread Street Mermaid). 1645. Mr. Powell tenant of the Horn, lease for 31 years. 1653. Widow Powell is

to pay £80 for the release of a covenant to spend £200 in repairs on the Horn Tavern.

Henry Parkinson was Master of the Vintners' Company in 1631-2.

Philemon Powell, vintner, is in the list of vintners in 1636. In the poll list of vintners in 1641, we find "Philemon Powell at y^e horne in fleetstreet." He was a searcher for the Company in 1645 and 1651. In the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Dunstan's there is a very large number of payments to him and "at the Horn Tavern" for dinners and church wine. He issued the token "At the Horn Tavern," with initials P.S.P. (his name is not given in W. and B.) In 1652 widow Powell takes his place in the lists. 1654, she is replaced by Joseph Walbanke, who kept the Horn during the Plague and Fire, and appears in the lists of vintners till 1679, (when Thos. Hamond appears to take his place ?)

In the 1698 list of taverns "within Tempell bare in fleat Streat," we find the "Bugell horne," "henery the eight" (King's Head), "Grayhound," "Casell," "the old and young Dunston or the 2 Devells," etc. The Mitre is not in the list of seventeen named taverns nor is "the Cheshire Cheese"; though probably an "ordinary," or victuallers' business, was carried on in Three Falcon Court. There were many victuallers and cooks in Fleet Street. I must not be lured into St. Bride's parish (of certain houses there much might be said) beyond noting that in a parish assessment of 1724 a man named Lumpkin was rated at 3s. 9d. in Faulcon Court, and one is tempted to imagine that his son, or other relative, suggested Goldsmith's Tony Lumpkin !

Joseph Walbanke issued the second token—"The Horne Taveren [a bugle-horn] In Fleet Street—I.A.W.," (the issuers name is not given in W. and B.). I have quoted elsewhere Machyn's account of the Spanish

Ambassadors stopping to drink at the Horn and then the Greyhound in Fleet Street in 1557.

Henry Radcliffe's will at Somerset House, 1609, is nuncupative, and unfortunately of little present interest. He mentions his wife, Margery, and daughter Bridgett. Joseph Walbanke is in a list of Vintners' Searchers in 1660. In the hearth tax list of 1662, Joseph Walbancke was assessed on 21 hearths (Anderton's Hotel is now at No. 164); near him in the list is Wm. Simons, 26 hearths, (Red Lyon Inn; Red Lion Court now No. 170), and about eight names further on is Two Crane Court, (Crane Court No. 174).

About 1641 most of the dinners and meetings recorded by the Churchwardens were at the Horn Tavern, and a good many at the King's Head; I came across one dinner at the Mitre. In 1628 a dinner at the latter tavern was held after the search for Recusants. In 1641 "Mr. Powell at the Horne Taverne for a dinner" was paid £4 13s. 5d. In this same year, "Item spent at the Maremaide in Bread Streete after the paying into y^e^ Chamber of London pte of the loane money for the reliefe of Ireland."

Prideaux quotes an entry in the Goldsmiths' records in 1721, in which the wardens are directed by the Court to provide good port wine, and that each person should have one quart bottle thereof, at the dinner at the Horn Tavern. Though not a vestige of Philemon Powell's tavern survives today, Anderton's Hotel still flourishes on the same old site.

So much for these famous taverns in St. Dunstan's West parish: I trust that this digression from the Mermaids and Mitres will be found of sufficient interest to justify its inclusion here. The illustrations of the Fleet Street tokens are from photographs (by Messrs. R. B. Fleming and Co.) from specimens in my possession. These small coins, although of no intrinsic value and often of little artistic merit, possess an indefinable interest and charm to the

FLEET STREET TOKENS.

1. King's Head Tavern, Fleet Street (Thomas Kent).
2. Devil Tavern (John Wadlow).
3. Horn Tavern (Philemon Powell).
4. Rainbow Coffee House (James Farr).
5. Hercules Pillars (J.S. preceded Edward Oldham, and was perhaps John Symonds, licensed victualler).
6. Cock Ale-house.
7. Rose Tavern (Wm. Bellamy).

lovers of Old London. They were actually handled by the citizens in the troublous years of the Civil War and in the Restoration period, and the issuers were contemporaries of Samuel Pepys. I have added the token of the Rose Tavern by Fleet Bridge, though not in St. Dunstan's parish, because it was the third tavern in Fleet Street amongst the forty London taverns permitted in 1553-4. The inscription on the token reads "At the Rose Tavern [a rose] At Fleete Bridge, 1649.—W.D.B." The issuer's name (not known to W. and B.), is supplied by the 1641 poll-tax list of vintners—"William Bellamy at y^e^ Rose neare Fleet-bridge." The tavern probably stood a little to the west of the present "Shades" under the railway bridge that crosses Ludgate Hill. In a case in the Fire Decrees "the Rose" is described as sometime a Brewhouse, since converted into several tenements, in the parish of St. Bride's on the east side of Fleet Bridge and on the south side of the same street. Abraham Church, scrivener, petitioner against the Dean of the Catholic Church of Christ and the B.V.M. of Rochester.

### The Mitre Tavern in New Fish Street. (Fish Street Hill).

This is still represented by the "Mitre Hotel" at No. 38 Fish Street Hill, on the east side of the Street and a few doors north of King's Head Court. Before the destruction of old London Bridge Fish Street Hill was the direct entrance to the City from the bridge, and the taverns lining it enjoyed a position of unrivalled importance. The Mitre was not nearly so famous as its neighbour, the King's Head, and the earliest mention that I have found of it is in 1603. Possibly it was on the site of a house which had belonged to a bishop or Religious House before the Reformation. The 1841 Post Office Directory gives 'the Mitre' at No. 38.

Token. *O.* At the Miter in —(A mitre).
*R.* New Fish Street—W.A.H.

Williamson and Boyne quote an advert. from the 'Mercurius Publicus' in 1661, for a stolen Dun Gelding:—"Whoever gives notice of the Gelding to Mr. William Harman at the Miter in New Fish Street . . . . shall have 40s. for his paines." This supplied the name of the issuer of the token with initials W.H.

The 'Picture of London,' 1806, on p. 360, gives a list of 'the most considerable eating houses east of Temple Bar,' in which 'Dinners, Suppers, etc., are served or dressed at a short Notice, and at a moderate Expence,' which includes 'The Mitre, Fish street hill.' Old London Bridge was still standing then, but its removal twenty-five years later changed Fish street hill from a very important thoroughfare to a mere side Street. In 1656 the Poulter's Company record a payment 'at the Myter in New Fish Street."

An old stone, with the initials 'P. H.', above the date 1668 carved on it, is preserved in the present 'Mitre.' It is said to have been removed from above the door of an older house, and was evidently placed there by the individual who rebuilt the Mitre after the Fire. The initials do not correspond to William Harman. A Philip Hawthorne was admitted to the Vintners' Company in 1668, and and, as the initials are uncommon, they may represent his name? The cellars of the Mitre are old and extensive, with very thick walls of what appears to me old brickwork. They extend beneath the house eastwards from New Fish Street (or Fish Street Hill), and also southwards, beneath the house now used as a coffee house. The present floor above the cellars has been raised, leaving a gap (along which a man can creep), between it and the remains of the old floor. The Mitre must have been amongst the first houses burnt in the Great Fire, as Pudding Lane is close to it on the east. It is given in the 1855 Post Office

Directory: "Mitre tavern 38 Fish St. Hill, W^m^ Shipley." It is not easy today to realise the former importance of this site, when *all* the horse or wheeled traffic from the south came up this hill, across the old Bridge and past St. Magnus Church.

Since writing the above account I have found, in the *MS. Lambeth tithes list of* 1638, that the *Mitre* then stood on the *west* side of New Fish Street, close to the south corner of Crooked Lane. In the list of St. Margaret's parish we find:—"Mr. George Houghton, a shop at y^e^ corner below Crooked Lane, Mr. Pomfrett, a shop next above y^e^ Myto^r^, Mr. Groby, a victualling house at y^e^ Myto^r^, Thomson, next below y^e^ Myto^r^." On the south side of Crooked Lane:—"1 doore in y^e^ myter yard entry," several *stairs* in Mitre yard, and 2 houses behind the Mitre. This suggests that the Mitre was then an eating house, perhaps with an *inn* yard.

### The Mitre in St. Paul's Churchyard.

This was not an ancient tavern, for it was one of the houses built shortly before the Fire on part of the ground belonging to the Palace of the Bishops of London. We should naturally suppose that they were not built until after the destruction of the Palace in the Fire, but the extracts given below show that some of the houses were there before 1662. This is another example of the adoption of the sign of the Mitre on land belonging to a bishop or abbot, and the leathern tokens of the Chapter Coffee House in Paternoster Row had also a mitre stamped upon them. Perhaps the chief interest attaching to this Mitre is due to the fact that it appears to have been one of the first music-houses in London. Burn (London Tokens) quotes an advertisement of 1664, stating that Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges, exhibited here a museum of natural rarities . . . "daily to be seen at the place called the musick-house at the Miter, near the West end of St. Paul's Church." He goes on to say that the Swan and Lyre, the crest and charge on the Arms of the Company of Musicians, were perverted by the tenant after the Fire into the sign of "the Goose and Gridiron." This suggested

derivation of the later sign has been generally accepted, and may conceivably be correct; Edward Foster, leatherseller, issued a token with a nag's head upon a gridiron, at the corner shop of Panyer Alley. In any case 'the Goose and Gridiron' appears to have occupied the site of the Mitre.

In the 19th century the 'Goose and Gridiron' had a considerable coaching trade for short stages round London, to Brentford, Hammersmith, Richmond, etc. Lockie, 1813, says:—"Goose and Gridiron Coach Office, St. Paul's Church Yard, behind 74, corner of London House Yard." He places "Mitre Court, St. Paul's Church yard at No. 71, leading into London House Yard." "The Mitre" evidently gave its name to the Court, which is shown in Rocque's Map, 1746, as an extension eastwards of London House yard, and leading south to St. Paul's Churchyard. The entrance to 'the Mitre,' and to 'the Goose and Gridiron,' was at the north-east corner of London House Yard, now occupied by part of Messrs. Hitchcock, Williams and Co's premises. A large gilt Mitre is still displayed on Evans' tea shop, No. 75, at the corner of London House Yard, which serves to remind us of the Bishop of London's palace.

It is interesting to note that William Paget, who issued a token at the sign of the Mitre in Fleet Street, occupied 'the Mitre' in St. Paul's Church yard in 1662. The following is an extract from a Fire Decree:—John Hayes, draper, petitioner against the Right Revd. Father in God, Humphrey Lord Bishop of London . . . the evidence shows that the Bishop leased to John Hayes in 1662 "a tenement being a coffee house known by the sign of the Turke's Head, then in the possession of Luke Petley, abutting south on a tenement called the Three Bibles, on the north on a tenement called the Miter then in the possession of William Paget, towards the East on a tenement called the Peter and Paul, and towards the west upon the street."

In another case, in which Judith Palmer, widow, was the petitioner, it is stated that the Bishop's predecessor demised unto William Pagett, in 1662, one messuage known by the Sign of the Mitre for 40 years, at £4, payable quarterly, and that the premises were afterwards assigned to William Palmer, the petitioner's late husband. A third case concerns a house called the Wheatsheaf which adjoined the Mitre, and "the backs of the houses in Paternoster row" are mentioned. It is stated that the Mitre was "built on certain yards and grounds of and belonging to the late Palace of the Bishop of London."

A token was issued at the Turk's Head Coffee House "At the west end of St. Paul's London," possibly by Luke Petley, and there is also a token of 'the Peter and Paul.' Amongst the house-signs in the Guildhall Museum there are two from the Goose and Gridiron. One has a shield with the date of 1786, surmounted by a Mitre, and the other has a goose standing in front of a gridiron. In the "Vademecum for Maltworms," about the time of George I, there is a representation of this sign, but the goose is shown hurrying away from a gridiron behind her. The author gives a full page of his usual doggerel to this sign, of which the following is an extract:—

"View but the Sign, and it will make you Smile
At sight of Goose and Instrument to Broil,
This will excite you both to Drink and Eat,
Oh! for a Leg! for its delicious Meat,
To relish the strong Tipple retail'd here.

. . . . . .

Dutch carvers from St. Paul's adjacent dome,
Hither, to whet their Whistles, daily come.

The writer goes on to state that a former master of this house, who had made a fortune by building, still lodged there, "of powerful Bouz to take his fill." The house was apparently still frequented by musicians, for:—

"Jack Y——g too, and a crowd of Fiddlers more,
Here tire the Guests, and play them out of Door."

John Young, according to Sir John Hawkins, lived at the west corner of London House Yard, and was a maker of violins. Some lines from the "Musical Companion," 1726, are quoted in Cassel's 'Old and New London':—

> "There's old Young and young Young, both men of renown,
> Old sells and young plays the best fiddle in town."

So the author of the '*Vademecum*' was perhaps too severe on Jack Young! The writer of that work also mentions 'the Rarities of the Goose and Gridiron,' which include the Pillar which supports the Chimney, the Skittle-Ground upon the Top of the House, the Water-course running thro' the Chimney, the Handsome Maid Hannah. John Young (probably the father of "old" Young) was one of the King's Musicians, for the Viol de Gamba, 1673-80.

The 'Picture of London,' 1806, on page 404, etc., mentions coaches daily from 'the Goose and Gridiron' to Fulham, Hammersmith, and Richmond; and Cary's coaching list, for 1817, mentions it for coaches to Brentford, Camberwell, and Ham, as well as the places named in 1806. The Richmond coaches left at 9, 9½, 11, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7½. The writer in 'the Tatler' (Steele?) who said that a tenant of the house altered a 'swan and harp' to a Goose stroking a Gridiron with her foot, may have been joking, although the explanation of the sign is possible. In the account of the Mitre in Fleet Street I suggested that William Paget (who issued a token there, and also occupied the Paul's Churchyard Mitre in 1662)—was the violin player who was one of the King's Musicians. As the author of the 'Vademecum' mentions Jack Young (a well-known violinist) playing at the 'Goose and Gridiron' about George I's time, it would seem that the idea of the sign was not to ridicule the musicians. After the Fire the Mitre was rebuilt as a tavern, for "the Mitter" is the only tavern in St. Paul's Churchyard named in the 1691-8 list.[1] Some ten years later 'the Goose and

[1] Harl. M.S. 4716.

Gridiron,' where the Dutch Carvers at work on the new Cathedral came to "whet their whistles," took its place, or occupied an adjoining site. Its proximity to the Cathedral made it a convenient house for Sir Christopher Wren, who presided at a Lodge of Freemasons there for many years. I hardly dare to ask whether the curious sign can have had any *masonic* significance; but probably it merely suggested that good fare was to be obtained within. The gridiron was associated with St. Lawrence, who is said to have been roasted on one.

Probably the owners of the Music-houses made their money by the sale of drinks, and an entry in the Minutes of the Common Council in 1658 shows that these were not always wholesome. Incidentally this entry also shows that the claim that the Mitre was the first music-house in London is incorrect. In 1658, "Thomas Smith at the Musicke house at the Blew Bell by the posterne gate of London Wall" was presented for having "one puncheon of compounded and adulterated unwholsome Drincke fitt to have the head beaten out."[1] A token was issued by T.A.S. (evidently Thos. Smith), "The Bell at London—Wall. Vintner, 1657."

### The Mitre in the Strand.

Thomas Langton issued a token at this tavern, and I noticed his name in lists of the Vintners' Company from 1628 to 1659. He was one of the vintners appointed as searchers in 1645-57, and was warden of the Company in 1655.

Token: *O.* Tho. Langton. at y^e—(a mitre).

*R.* miter. in y^e strand—T.D.L.

An interesting extract from 'The Kingdom's Intelligencer,' of Aug. 3-10, 1663, quoted in Williamson and Boyne's list of tokens, shows that the Mitre stood opposite the Maypole in the Strand. The Maypole was nearly opposite

[1] Repertory 66, fo. 186—Guildhall.

the end of Drury Lane, where now the Church of St. Mary Le Strand stands. The old Maypole had been destroyed by the Puritans, and, in the reaction after the Restoration of Charles II, the largest one recorded was erected in its place. Oddly enough, the most interesting point about the advertisement was overlooked by Williamson and Boyne, or at any rate not referred to, and this is that ' Major Alexander Merchant de St. Michel Esquire ' was Samuel Pepys's father-in-law, a " Mr. Micawber " of that time, who always lived in hopes of making a fortune from some extraordinary scheme or other. The advertisement runs as follows:—" all People in His Majestie's dominions may be pleased to take notice, that Major Alexander Merchant de St. Michel Esquire hath obtained the King's Letters Pattents, for the preventing or curing the Smoak in any Chimney, by a new, easie, and infallible way, at final and inconsiderable charges with few Bricks, as it hath been fully tryed at the Miter Tavern in the Strand over against the May-Pole."—Next month, on Sept. 22nd, 1663, Pepys refers to the project, but without enthusiasm:—" This day my wife showed me bills printed, wherein her father, with Sir John Collidon and Sir Edward Ford, have got a patent for curing of smoky chimneys. I wish they may do good thereof, but fear it will prove but a poor project." Alexander Marchant, Sieur de St. Michel, was a poor Huguenot, who originally came over in the train of Henrietta Maria.

' The Mitre ' is given amongst the Strand taverns in the list of 1690-1698 (Harl. MS.), and is mentioned next after ' the 5 bells.' Holywell Street, which was demolished some years ago, extended westward to the Maypole. Morden and Lea's map of 1682 shows ' the Bell Inn ' on the north side of the Strand, close to the end of Holywell Street, and probably the Mitre Tavern stood between this and the end of Drury Lane. It must have had a lively time when the great Maypole was being erected by the sailors after the Restoration.

### The Mitre Tavern in Wood Street.

This was one of the taverns visited by Pepys, who also gives the name of the vintner there, William Procter, about whom I am able to give a good many fresh details. It has been generally assumed that the tavern stood in Mitre Court on the east side of Wood Street, south of the site of the Compter, but I shall give reasons for believing that the old tavern was on the west side of Wood Street. It certainly was in the parish of St. Michael Wood Street, which parish according to Hatton, 1708, "On East side of Wood Street extends from 1 House beyond the Castle Inn Southward to 1 House beyond the Castle Tavern, and takes in Fryar Alley to the steps and one house beyond them."

In a map of the Parish of St. Michael's, in 1838, it is shown to extend southwards to No. 8 Wood Street, and the entrance passage to Mitre Court is shown between Nos. 8 and 9. No. 9, on the north side of the passage, therefore corresponds to "the Castle Tavern," and the 'Hole in the Wall' tavern now occupies its site. Strype, 1720, in his description of Milk Street, says: "Castle Tavern Court so called from the Castle Tavern therein situated. It hath a narrow passage into Wood Street." This description, together with the fact that the Castle Tavern formed the Southern boundary of St. Michael's Parish on the East Side of Wood Street, shows that the Castle Tavern stood in the present Mitre Court. O. & M., 1677, called this 'Nunnery Court.' The point is of some interest, for the Mitre Tavern in Wood Street was rather famous, at any rate during William Procter's occupation before the Plague. In the middle of Mitre court there are stone steps leading down to some old cellars, which at one time were much more extensive, and which are commonly believed to have been the cellars of the *Mitre Tavern*. They are now used by the proprietor of the 'Hole in the Wall' Tavern, on the North side of the narrow passage into

Wood Street, and were probably connected formerly with the Castle Tavern.

William Procter's "Mitre" was in the parish of St. Michael, for I find him assessed in that parish in the hearth tax list for three half years before Michaelmas 1665, on 29 hearths, with a note that his house had been "6 months empty." This number of hearths proves that the tavern was a very large one. We know from Pepys's Diary that he and his son died at Islington of the Plague in 1665. The following token was issued by him:—

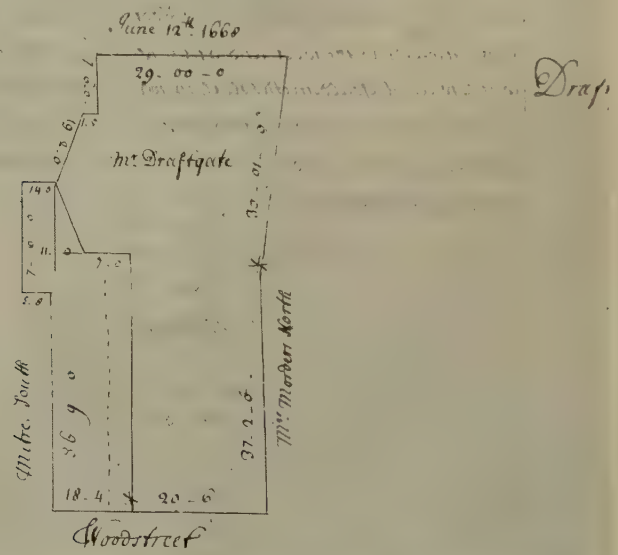
(3527). At ye Miter Taverne—(a Mitre).
In Great Wood Street—W.E.P. [W^m. and Elizabeth Procter].

This token, like that of Dan Rawlinson's Mitre, is of great interest to all lovers of Pepys.

There is another token "At the Miter and Rose in Great Wood Street," which has no issuer's name on it. It is a penny token, and therefore probably issued after the Fire, and no doubt belonged to the new Mitre.

The facts that in O. and M.'s map, 1677, the present Mitre Court is called *Nunnery Court*, and by Strype, in 1720, *Castle Court* from the Castle Tavern there, and that the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael show that the Castle tavern existed long before the Fire, made me suspect that William Procter's "Mitre" was not situated there. I then came across several plans of sites in the Survey after the Fire (Mills and Oliver) which show clearly that the old Mitre was on the opposite side of Wood Street, south of Shovel Court. This court is marked by Morden and Lea, 1682, and also by Strype, 1720, opposite the north end of the Compter, and in Rocque, 1746, it appears to be called Bull's Head Court. Afterwards its name seems to have been transferred to a court further south and close to Goldsmiths' Street, at No. 123, Wood Street. The Mitre was probably south of the Court in its earlier position, opposite the Compter.

Sett out 2 for foundations Mr Eli Draftgate in Woodstreet con.t in front for two houses and an Entrey 38 foot and 10 Inches and in depth at South side 36 foot and 9 Inches to a Breack South ward 5 foot and 8 Inches and from thence 7 foot 6 Inch returning — Northward 14 foot and thence 19 foot 2 Inches and thence inward by a Breake 1 foot 8 Inch and thence Backward 7 foot and 6 Inches and in Breadth at West End 29 foot 000 and in depth at North side 30 foot one Inch to a Bevel and from thence to the front on the same side 37 foot 2 Inches on the North side Mr Morden at the West End Mr Houldman and at the South side the Mitre Tavorne and the Street on the East all as is designed on the other side




## THE MITRE IN WOOD STREET.

Mills and Oliver's plan of a site in Wood Street, showing that the old Mitre Tavern stood on the *West* side of the street.

*To face page* 167.

Certain plans also show that the " New Mitre tavern " was on the east side of the street, and probably by Mitre Court. It is very puzzling, in comparing the old Maps, to find the position and names of some of the Courts shifted about. In the Parish map of 1838 Pauls Court is on the site of the earlier Shovel Alley, and the entry to the Court is between Nos. 119 and 122, and at the latter number we may provisionally locate the old Mitre Tavern.

The most important plan for locating the house is in Vol. iv of the Survey, and is headed " Mitter Ground." On the north of the site is Shovell Alley, on the East Wood Street, and on the plan, towards the west end, is written " Mitter Ground in Wood Street," and on the south side Mr. Cross and Mr. Shaw are marked. Another plan is headed:—" I sett out for Mr. Langworth Cros in Wood Street," and on the north of the site is written, " Miter Tavern North "; In Volume iii, Mrs. Eliz$^{th}$ Draftgate's site is shown with " Morder's " north, " Mitre," south, and Wood Street, east. We can therefore locate the Mitre tavern of William Procter on the south of Shovel Court, and probably with an entrance from that court, at No. 122 or 123 on the West side of Wood Street.

The position of the New Mitre Tavern is shown on a plan in Vol. iv.—" I sett out 2 foundations for Mr. Satterthwayte and Mr. John Blunckett in Wood Street 7 Mar., 1669 . . . . . on the north of one is written " New Miter Tavern "; Wood Street on the west, Deputy Dawney east, and Mr. Edwards south. The other plan shows Wood Street West, Colonell Coates North and east, and Mr. Satterthwayte south.

Finally, a plan of Colonell Coates' site is given, with the Compter on the north.

Coates was probably the vintner of the Feathers Tavern in Cheapside, and in his site there, near Queen Street, he is also styled ' Colonell.' He evidently obtained the site of the Castle tavern after the Fire, but there is no evidence

that he occupied it, and he is stated elsewhere to have become bankrupt. In the 1690 list of London taverns the Mitre is not mentioned in Wood Street, which suggests that it had not attained the popularity of the older tavern. The list gives " the Sunne, the Castell, the 3 Tuns, and the Bulls head." Possibly the sign of the Mitre replaced that of the Castle, somewhere about 1730, and the Castle Court then became Mitre Court? Maitland in 1756 alters Strype's statement that Castle Tavern Court was so-called " from the Castle Tavern therein situated," to " *therein formerly situated* "; and the Court was called ' Mitre Court ' in the ' New Remarks of London,' 1732.

The Hearth list of 1664-5, in which I found William Procter's name, also serves to show that his position in the parish of St. Michael was some distance from the Compter. The Wood Street Compter stood close to the north side of the present Mitre Court. The names in the list of St. Michael's Wood Street evidently start at the north end of the parish on the east side of Wood Street, and here we can recognise William Pennington, 21 hearths, the innholder at the Castle Inn. Some distance down the list we reach " the Compter prison, 18, refuse payment "—presumably they claimed exemption. This was close to the south boundary of the parish, and soon after the Compter the names must belong to the *west* side of Wood Street. There are many names (with small numbers of hearths) before we come to Langworth Crosse, 9 hearths (who is shown in the Survey on the south of the Mitre ground). Then we reach " William Proctor 6m/emp. 29."[1] A little further on is Eliz. Drafgate 7, whose site was shown north of the Mitre. These lists are of little use unless one is familiar with certain names in the parishes, to act as guides, for the names of the streets are not given, and no *signs* are mentioned. A puzzling thing too is the great number of people with two or three hearths, and one wonders where

[1] Proctor's house had been 6 months empty.

they were all tucked in! John and Elizabeth Draftgate had children baptised at St. Michael's, and he is described as 'confectioner,' which serves to remind us that Wood Street was famous for its cakes.

The Castle Tavern, although quite a distinct house from the Mitre, must be dealt with in this account of the latter tavern, on account of the confusion between Castle Court and Mitre Court. A token was issued in 1650:—

The Castell Tavern—(a Castle).

In Wod Streete, 1650—R.M.A.

The issuer was perhaps Richard Ailey, who is mentioned in a list of vintners in 1659. Both the Castle and the Mitre taverns are often mentioned in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's before the Fire.

*The Vintners at the Mitre in Wood Street.*

Richard Smith's *Obituary* mentions that:—

"March 3, 1635, Geo. Chamberlyn, Vintner, at the Miter in Wood Street, died of a consumption; buried ye 8 day"; and in 1665, August 1, "Mr. Wm. Procter, Vintner at ye Mitre in Wood Street, w$^{th}$ his young son, died at Islington (insolvent) ex peste."

Pepys, on July 31st, 1665, records that a messenger, who had come from Islington that morning, told him

"That Proctor the vintner of the Miter in Wood Street, and his son, are dead this morning there of the plague; he having laid out abundance of money there, and was the greatest vintner for some time in London for great entertainments."

I find that the Parish Registers of St. Michael's Wood Street[1] confirm this date, for he was buried there:—1665, "Ma. William Prockter and his sonn Georg. Buried in the Church Both in one grave ye 31st of July." On Wm. Procter's token the initials only are given of his wife and himself, W.E.P. The following entries, which I found in the St. Michael's Registers, show that her name was Elizabeth, and that they had a large family:

[1] I am much indebted to the Rev. G. S. Davies, Rector of St. Alban's Wood Street, for his kind permission to examine the old registers of St. Michael's.

1639: Sarah daughter of Wm. Procter Vintner and Elizabeth his wife (baptised). 1641; William, their son was baptised, and the baptisms follow of Elizabeth in 1643, Nathaniel 1644, Elizabeth 1646, Hester 1647, Hester 1648, George 1649, Henry 1652 and John 1654.

His son George was thus 16 years old when he died of the Plague. The burials of several of the above children are also entered.

In 1625, which was another great Plague year, the burial of John Mallabar Vintner, is recorded . . . . . he is mentioned in the Churchwardens' accounts, and was probably at the Mitre; and in 1635 George Chamberlain, vintner, was buried, as already mentioned in the extract from R. Smith's *Obituary*.

## St. Michael's Huggin Lane Churchwardens' Accounts.

I will now give some extracts from the original MS. accounts, in which the Mitre and its vintners are frequently mentioned.

1620. Pd. for the Visitation Dynner at the Miter—£3 1s. 0d. "Pd. for 2 pound of Suger spent at the venison feast, at Mallebars.'

1621. "Pd. Mr. Mallaber the vintner for Com$^{n}$ wine for ye whole year £2 2s. 6d." Oliver Markland, who kept the Castle Inn, signed the book this year. Richard Smith's 'Obituary' records on August 8, 1658, "Old Oliver Markland, once innkeeper at the Castle in Wood Street, died at Stratford Bow." There is a payment for covering M$^{rs}$ Mallebares grave.

1622. "Pd. the same day for a dinner at the Myter—13s. 6d."; "Pd. for a quart of clarret and a pynt of sack on Christmas Day, when a Preacher did helpe the Parson 1s." Payments are also entered for the Visitation dinner at the Myter . . . . and to Mr. Malebare for Communion wine. A payment at the Flying Horse is also recorded. This Flying Horse Tavern was close to the corner of Maiden Lane. Mr. Mallebar was buried in 1625; he had evidently married again for M$^{rs}$ Mallebar is mentioned in 1628.

1626. Payd at the Castle Tavern for the Visitation—10s."

1628. The visitation dinner at M$^{rs}$ Mallebors is entered.

1630. "Pd. for the Auditt Dynner att Flying Horse."—In 1635 there is a payment for wax lights, torches, candles, candlesticks, and to the Ringers the 5th November, 7s. 4d.; "Item then for a Bonfire, 1s. 6d." Bonfires were also paid for on the Queen's birthday, and on the King's.

1642. Pd. Mr. Procter for wyne.

1647. Payments to Mr. Procter, and to Mr. Markland for wine.

1654. "Item paid at the Miter that Day y^e^ p'sh went to y^e^ Quest."

1654. "A supper at the Miter after y^e^ View," cost £2 7s. 6d.

1655. The parish meeting took place at the Mitre; and Mr. Procter's bill for wine for the Church was £7 11s. 6d.

In 1657,—the Churchwardens "paid Mr. Procter for a collar of Brawne which should have bin brought in by Amos Payne as pte. of his rent, 11s."

1658. "Paid att Mr. Procters upon St. Thomas Day, £2 0s. 0d."

1660. "Imprimis, paid att the Mitre upon Election day 6s. 5d," and there are also payments there in 1662: . . . an annual one on St. Thomas's Day, was evidently for a dinner.

1670. "Item spent on the parish Accompt going to Westminster to Doctor Renn, 7s."

"Item given to Dr. Ren's clerk for a writing concerning the 500 li. 5s."

In 1671 payments are recorded "at Mr. Ailays."

In 1671 a dinner was given to Dr. Wren, for which a payment of £15 15s. 0d., is entered, to Mr. Spencer and Mr. Ailay. Thomas Ailey was paid for wine for the year in 1681.

1718. Pd. at the Mitre as went the Roundes, 4s. A payment at the Bull Head was made this year . . . probably this stood at Bull's Head Passage. Mr. Burscoe was paid for the wine, and again in 1715, and was probably the vintner at the Mitre, as other payments at the Mitre Tavern are entered in 1715 and 1716.

These payments were evidently at the New Mitre—whether an alternative name for the Castle Tavern, or adjoining it, I am uncertain.

William Procter undoubtedly made the Mitre one of the chief taverns of London, and perhaps spent his money too lavishly, or was let down by non-paying customers. Probably the Fire would have ruined him, if he had

survived the plague. He suggests Balzac's "César Birotteau" to one's mind!

Pepys mentions the Wood Street Mitre several times:—

Sept. 14, 1660. "In the afternoon Luellin comes to my house, and takes me out to the Mitre in Wood Street, where Mr. Samford, W. Symons and his wife, and Mr. Scobell . . . where they were very merry, Luellin being drunk, and I being to defend the ladies from his kissing them, I kissed them myself very often with a great deal of mirth. Parted very late . . ."

Pepys was frequently the only sober one of the party!

Sept. 19th, 1660 (after waiting for his wife)—"I went, and left her to put on some other clothes and come after me to the Mitre tavern in Wood-Street (a house of the greatest note in London), where I met W. Symons, and D. Scobell and their wives, Mr. Samford, Luellin . . . Here we were very merry and had a very good dinner . . . we staid till it was very late; it rained sadly but we made shift to get coaches. So home and to bed."

In 1655 the Churchwardens of St. Matthew, Friday Street "paid Mr. Procter for Muscadine used at the sacrament in the two last years £3 10s. 0d.", and other payments are recorded to him up to 1662, or shortly before he left the Mitre.

The Churchwardens of St. Peter's, Wood Street record a payment to Mr. Procter for wine in 1657-8. William Procter was one of the searchers for the Vintners' Company in 1645 and 1651. The Vintners' Company visited the Wood Street Mitre for dinners several times between 1656 and 1663.

The sign of the Mitre here was perhaps derived originally from some property of the Abbot of St. Albans, who had the patronage of the Rectory of St. Michael's Wood Street before the Reformation. Possibly it was a later sign for "the Mermaid" Tavern in Wood Street, which I find mentioned in the opening years of the 17th century, and which seems to have disappeared later.

This concludes what I have to say about the *Mermaid*

and *Mitre* taverns, and I have dealt with eight or nine of the former sign and ten or twelve of the latter, though of some there was very little to record. It will be remarked that there was only one Mermaid *inn* and that of secondary importance, and I know of no Mitre inn in old London, though the signs are found on inns in the country. The notes I have collected refer principally to the 17th century, and wherever possible to the 16th century, for the modern information (of the 18th century onwards) that is available has in many cases been already published more than once. I think I may claim that this account takes the definite history of many of these old taverns farther back than any other yet published, and gives, for the first time, some definite information about the taverners or vintners who occupied them before the Fire; and furthermore it shows (wherever possible) the actual sites of the taverns today. These things I have searched for in an immense number of printed works, both old and modern, and often in vain, but anyone who has been concerned in similar work will agree that the fresh facts discovered are lamentably few and trifling in return for the amount of laborious research involved. Still, where it is a labour of love it is light indeed, compared to the pleasure derived from the hunt and the occasional discovery of a treasure! Whether others will consider that the result justifies the labour I cannot say. The taverns must not be regarded merely as drinking houses—they were the ' clubs ' of the day, where (in the absence of regular newspapers) the passing events, light or serious, parochial or national, were discussed, where conversation flourished and wits were sharpened. Without them Old London would have been a dull place, and the people duller. So, Farewell noble Syrenaicks.

# APPENDIX A.

## The Old Records of the Vintners' Company.

Some interesting details are preserved in certain old MS. accounts of the Vintners' Company which are now at the British Museum.[1] Some extracts are quoted in the history of the Vintners' Company edited by Thomas Millbourn, to whose work I am indebted for the reference to the MS. The following further extracts were not quoted in his history, and are of interest. The accounts cover the period from 1507 to 1522. Expenses connected with the "obits" of past members of the Company recur regularly, and the following is an example:—

Money payd for Rich. Rowes Obite holden the xviij day of May A° xxiij° h. vij. (1507).

Item for brede ixd., Item for a Kynderkyn of ale ijs., Item for wyne ijs., Itm. for chese xxd., Itm. for offering money iiijd., It. payd to the Wardeyns vjs. viijd., Itm. to Maist Knott xviijd., Itm. to prests and clerk xis., It. for Rynging xijd., It. to the wax chandeler xvjd., It. to the bedell xijd.

John Sandell, who kept the Mitre tavern in Cheap as shown in the account of that tavern, is mentioned, "Payments and Expencs for div's things leyd out by me John Sandell." The details of a dinner are of some interest:—It. for brede iijd., Itm. for ale and bere viijd., for wyne xijd., for moton vjd., for iv chekyns vjd., for iij conyes viijd. ob., for Sugᵉr pep and Saunders[2] ijd., for Erbes and Sawce id., for butter jd., for fyre and dressing of the mete vjd., It. to a Mynsterell ijd., It. for perez ijd.

On St. Martin's day (November 11th), an annual dinner was held, in honour of the patron Saint of the Company. One of the items I noted was for 11lb. of 'Reysons of Coraunte.'

[1] Egerton MS. 1143.

[2] Presumably this was Sandal wood. Culpeper in his "London Dispensatory," 1679, p. 16, mentions the red, white and yellow Sanders: the latter cools the heat of fevers, strengthens the heart and causes cheerfulness.

In the English edition of Dodoen's Herbal, of 1578, p. 652, he says, of the little berries or grapes of the wild vine, that " they drie them lyke Raysens. And of these are made the smal Raysens, which are commonly called Corantes, but more rightly Raysens of Corinthe."

1509. Money payd for the Maist^rs^ dynner on Seint Martyns day in Novebr. A° pmo. h. viij.

First payd for brede viijd., for ale xiid., wyne xxd., Brawne xviijd., for beeffe and moton viijd., for ij Gese xviijd., for iij Capons iijs. iiijd., for xij plovers ijs., for iij dosen Larks xijd., It. for butt^r^ ijd., for Spyces iiijd., for Erbes and Sawce iijd., for Appulls ijd., for wode and cole viijd., geven to the wayts iiijd., It. payd for ij Garnysshe of vessell xvjd., It. payd for the Coks wages xxd. (a Garnish of pewter was a set of dishes and plates, etc.).

Some further interesting details of the *birds* supplied by the poulterers of that period are given in the dinner on St. Martin's day, 1510. Bread, ale and bere, wyne, brawn, beeff, moton, marybones, brests of veale and a Netes tonge were supplied, also five Capons, a Swan, a Crane and a Gose; 3 Conyes, 16 plovers and Telez (teals).

In 1510, the auditors were, Henry Pedell, James Spencer, Richard Gyttons, and Richard Hylton; and the " Maisters and Wardeyns " chosen in 1510 were John Kirkby, Robt. Scrace, Henry Pedell and George Gryll.

The Wardens in 1511 spent 4d. upon Mr. Stephyn Jenyns at the iij Cranes. This famous tavern, near the *Stairs* of that name, was close to Vintner's Hall. Another payment in this year was for Mr. Towneclerk at the *Emperor's Head*. This tavern gave its name to one of the lanes leading from Thames Street to the river, close to Three Cranes lane.

It. paid and spent at the Mighter in Chepe the 29 day of January upon Henry Pedyll, George Gryll and others . . . 8d. John Sandell was then at the Mitre. A payment at the Castell is also recorded—probably the well-known tavern in Paternoster Row.

" Spent at the Boreshed in Old Fish Strete . . . for the Audite of Willm. Walpoles accompte—iiis."

Accompte of us John Scrace, James Spencer Richard Gyttons and Richard Hilton Maister and Wardeyns . . . in 1513.

The Master's dinner was held " at the horsehed." This was probably the tavern in Cheapside, not far from Friday Street.

1516. Itm. paid the xx day of October for fetching of a pype of full gawge out of the Kings seller at Westm^r^ and brynging yt to the

Vynteners hall 1d. ob. Itm. paid the same day at the iij Cranes for o^r^ Mast^rs^ dynner, ijs. iiijd. Itm. paid the same day at the Rose Taverne at Flete bridge. Bothyre to Westm^r^ cost ijd. ob., and two payments are recorded at "the horshed":—'paid at the horshede for a dyn^r^ for dyvs of o^r^ Masters and the knyghts when they went to the Guylde hall to se the vessells mesuryd, vijs.'—"Itm. paid for drynk at the iij Cranes the 20 Oct^r^".

"Itm. paid the same day for the Auditors dynner at Mr. Sandells, vjs. jd." In 1519 we find the Account of Robert Scras, Henry Pedyll, Robert Barker and Rychard Eddys.

Since obtaining the above extracts for the period 1507 to 1522, I have had the unexpected pleasure of seeing the full MS. accounts of the Vintners' Company from the year 1522 onwards. These are bound in a series of large books, and are in a wonderful state of preservation, and I cannot sufficiently thank the Master of the Company, Mr. B. I'Anson Breach, the Wardens, and the Clerk, Paymaster Commander H. B. Tuffill, C.B.E., for their kindness in granting me permission to see these interesting old volumes. The expenses connected with the Company's *swans* on the Thames, with their *barge*, and their house property, are full of interest, but naturally I was chiefly concerned with the frequent mention of the important *taverns* in Old London, where they met for dinners, etc.

## REGISTER OF ACCOUNTS OF THE VINTNERS' COMPANY, 1522-1666.

### EXTRACTS CONCERNING THE TAVERNS VISITED.

1525. 20 Nov. There is a payment for "a pottell of Red wyne that cam from Master Sandells." (John Sandell, of the Mitre in Cheap).

Dinners were held at the King's Head, the Star and the Horse-head in Cheape.

1533. Item payd the 8 day of July at the Marmayde in brestret for bred ale wyne and suger beying in communycatyon for y^e^ bere in fryday stret vijd. (*The Bear* formed part of the property of the Company). Itm. payd at the iij Cranes for Malvesey-Sewger bred ale, viijd. The *Three Cranes* is frequently mentioned in the accounts. It was close to Vintner's Hall, and the *stairs* there were no doubt frequently used by the members of the Company.

1537. James Spencer, Stephen Mason, Wm. Hancok and James Staveley, were the Master and Wardens. Staveley owned the Swan in Crooked Lane and other property. He was buried

at St. Mary Woolnoth's in 1551, and may have occupied the Pope's Head tavern, where a dinner is recorded in 1537. 'Itm, for wyne at the thre cranes for the syngers over nyght, xiijd.' At the Master's dinner in this year 'Suffolk chese' and 'Banbury chese' are mentioned.

1537-40. The expenses connected with the journey to Westminster in the Company's *barge* are entered each year. In 1539, 15s. was spent, and "To the bargemen to drynke xijd."—"It. for the Cm̃panys dyner the same day at the Mermayde, xis. vjd."

It. for ow^r^ Cm̃panys dyn^r^ at the rose tavern when Mr. roche toke his othe at the tower in An° Dñi 1540, ixs. viijd.

There were *three* important and ancient *Rose* taverns, one by Fleet Bridge, a second in Newgate Market, and a third by All Hallows' Barking Church, evidently referred to here.

Itm. paide ffor the Masters dyner at the Mermayde the viij day of February, 1537 at the vewyng of our landes, xixs. iiijd.

There are several other payments at the *Rose* tavern.

Itm. paide ffor the Cm̃panys dyner at the etyng of ij swannes at the goyng of the marchñtes of ow^r^ Cumpany to burdix [*Bordeaux* presumably] at the Myter xiiijs. And for a Ronde of Sturgein. (This was no doubt at the Mitre in Cheap).

1540-1543. A Company's dinner was held at the Mermaid, and another dinner took place there. Dinners 'at the thre Cranes' in 1540, and "for the Cm̃panys dyner the 8 day of January at the Mermayde at the vewyng of ow^r^ landes, xxis." Amongst the expenses of a dinner on the 4th July, 1541, we find:—"Gyven in Rewarde ffor ffechyng of a buck, vjs. viijd. It^m^ for the hyre of a horse to ffeche a buck xxd." The following prices of birds are interesting: 13 Capons to roste at xxd. the pese; 8 Herons at ijs. iiijd. the pese; vij signets at vjs. viijd. the pese.

"Ow^r^ iiijth Dynner the 11th day Novemb^r^ 1542 at the thre Cranes."

1543-1546. Mr. Aleyn Kyng, James Staveley, John Gibbes and John Stirler. The dinner, after the barge trip, was at Mr. Stirlers. Company dinners were held at the *Mermaid* and *Three Cranes*. The Wardens dinner was at the *Mermaid*. "At the vewyng the landes at the Mermayde 1546, xxis. vjd., wherof rec^d^ of Lawrence bridges the whiche he gaffe in rewarde for the good will of his howse xvijs. which was spent there." I cannot trace Bridges as a vintner, and perhaps he was the tenant of one of the houses *viewed*.

'Itm. for the Cm̃panys Dyner the iiijth day July, 1544, at the White Hors, xlvs. vd. The next day dyner at the same White

horse, vjs. ixd.' No doubt this was the *White Horse* at the lower end of Friday Street, which still exists in a diminished form. (There is a full account of the house by the present writer in the London and Middlesex Archæological Society's *Transactions*).

1546-1548. Stephen Mason, David Gyttyns, Thomas Leigh and Will^m Morgan. The usual dinners took place at the *Mermaid* and and *Three Cranes*. Paide for the uppyng of Swannes in An° 1547 and 1548—" On swane therof was eaton at the Mermayd at the Wardens Commandement, and the other twayne was spent at the vynteners Hall . . . 1548. And ther was spent at the etyng of the same swanne at the Mermayde, vjs. xd. '

Paide at the Mermayde at a Courte daye at the Halle—July, 1547; and the Warden's dinner was held there.

" More paid the xxi^tie of January 1548 at the Mytor in Chepe for the M^r and Wardens . . . at the vewyng of ou^r landes, xiijs. iiijd," " paide more the next day at the Myter in Chepe ffor ow^r dyner . . . and at nyght ffor a supper at the thre cranes, xxijs."

1548. The Company's dinner was held " at Mr. Cators after a courte holden at ou^r hall—and more at the myter in Chepe the 28th Aprill ffor the M^r and Wardens dynner—viijs."

1548-50. James Staveley, Thomas Hancock, John Cator, and Thomas Lowe, were the Master and Wardens, Thomas Hancock had the *Pope's Head* in Lombard Street, and T. Lowe succeeded Sandell's widow at the *Mitre* in Cheap.

A dinner was held 'at the Mytor in Chepe for the M^r and Wardens at the vewyng of ow^r landes, xiijs. iiijd.' On 26 Aug., 1549, 'at the Mytor in Chepe for the M^r and Wardens . . . and eaten at the same time a sygnet,' and other dinners were held there. At a Company's dinner, ' Item for Gascon wyne and frenche wyne . . . admountyng to xxxviijti galon at xijd. the galon—xxxviijs. Itm. for two gallons and a pottell of ypocrasse xs.' Itm. for a Jowle and two rondes of Sturgion xvs., and for a freshe samon and a hawlffe ' . . . and for ' too Swannes.'

" Soper at the Myter in Chepe after the receyving of the kyngs grace thorough the cytye [King Edward VI], and eton at the same supper halfe a Buck of the gyfte of Henry rowess."

Aug. 26th, 1549—" dynner at Mytor in Chepe . . . eaten a sygnet," and the Master and Wardens' dinner was held there.

1550-1552. A breakfast " at the thre tonnes at yelde hall gate," cost xxd. Item at the Myto^r in chepe for the Wardens dynner. 15th October, " ffor a drynkyng among the Companye at the Mermayde, vs. xid."

In 1551 a breakfast, and also a payment on a Court day, are recorded at the *Mermaid*.

1551. Breakfast at thre Cranes, and at Seynt Johns hedde for ow^r^ dynner.

Oct. 1551. There is a payment ' at the kyngs hedd at Westmynster ' for breakfast. ' Item pd. the same day at the Mermaide for ou^r^ Cm̃pnys Dynner that went not to geldhall, xlvjs. vijd.'

Other payments are recorded at the *St. John's Head* (Ludgate), the *Three Cranes*, and the *Mermaid*.

1552. August — Spent at the Mermayde for a dynn^r^ to ou^r^ Wardeyns, viijs. " Item spente at the gote in Chepe, vjs. viijd."

1552-4. David Gyttins was Master, and John Gylman and Stephen Twaights were two of the Wardens. The latter kept the *Red Bull* in Thames Street (1553 list of forty taverns).

Item spent at the Marmayde on Candlemas day uppon the Companye, xxd.

Spent at Mr. Edwardes in paternoster row. (He doubtless kept the *Castle* tavern).

1553. ' The Goote in Chepe ' was again visited (probably returning from Guildhall).

1554. There is a payment ' at the kings head at powlescheyne,' and another ' att the sainte Johnes heade at ludgate.'

1556. ' Spent at the Starre in Cheape at the buryall of Mr. Nycholas Keysar, one of the wardens.'

1555-6. Several visits to the *Bull's Head* are recorded, which one would naturally suppose were to the old Cheapside tavern. An entry in 1565, however, specifies the Bull's Head at St. Martin's, and this was probably the house referred to. It was one of the *forty* taverns permitted in 1553-4, and in 1564 was kept by George Crowther. In 1564-5, the latter married Anne Brym'ett at Christ Church, Newgate. In 1579 the marriage is recorded there of a ' servant to M^r^ Crowder at the Bull Hed.' No doubt the houses owned by vintners holding office in the Company were often visited, and this accounts for the patronage of fresh taverns for a year or two. It will be noticed however, that the two important houses near Vintner's Hall, the *Mermaid* and the *Three Cranes*, were visited regularly throughout the accounts. " Spent at W^m^ Abrahams at the Cardnalls hatt, 28 January, 1555, xxviiis. viijd." This was in Lombard Street: William Abraham, Vyntener, had children baptised at St. Mary Woolnoth's, 1554 to 1558. Two of his sons, as well as two servants, were buried there in the great *plague* year, 1563. In 1585, two of his servants (called Isabel and Anthony Abram) were buried. " Itm. spent at Will^m^ Gryffins, xxxviijs. vjd."

Later on, William Griffin kept the Bread Street *Mermaid*, as shown already, but the following extract shows that Richard Smythe was there in 1556. "Itm. for the hole charges of o^r^ dynner kept the same St. Martins daye at M^r^ Smythes at the Marmayde in Bredstrete." The extract from Machyn's diary, already quoted, shows that Smythe and Davy Gittons had a cellar in the Vintry. This entry is of interest as it confirms my suggestion that either David Gittons or Richard Smythe had the Mermaid at this period.

1556-1558. Richard Smyth was one of the Wardens, and he appears in lists of searchers of the Company, 1551-1564.

In the costs of a journey, there is a payment for ' horsemeate att the Talbott in Southwarke, xijd.' (The Tabard Inn). Five dinners at the *Mermaid* are recorded.

The St. Johns Head, the Mermaid, the Three Tuns at Guildhall Gate, and the Star in Cheap were visited for dinners, etc., at this period, as well as the White Horse in Friday Street. and the Red Bull. The *Mermaid* is mentioned more than a dozen times (1556-1558), of which the following are examples:—' 26 Nov. Dynner at the Marmaide the hole lyverey beinge there, ljs. iijd '; ' 19th December, spent at the Marmaid xvjs. iijd.'; Spent att the Marmaide uppon Courte days xjs. xd. In 1559 ' wyne from Mr. Smythes ' was paid for. Visits to Robert Golding's, and to " the bishoppshead " in Lombard Street are also recorded. Golding was buried at St. Mary Woolnoth's in 1558.

In 1558, payments at the Rose tavern, and ' at Mr. Caters' are recorded, and there is an ' Item for wyne from Mr. Smythes for a breakfast.' ' Item spent at the Castell in p^r^ N^r^ Rowe '; and a payment ' After the burial of Simone Palmers wife . . . 8 Maie 1560, at the Castell in p^r^ n^r^ row.' Simon Palmer kept that ancient tavern, the *St. John's Head* at Ludgate, and was a *searcher* for the Vintners' Company 1554-7. *Machyn* refers to this burial in his diary:—" was bered Mastores Palmer, the wyff of (*blank*) Palmer vyntoner dwellyng at the Sant . . . hed at Ludgatt . . . and at her berehyng was the cumpene of the Vyntoners in their livery." The Company's record supplies the after proceedings at the *Castle* tavern. It was outside the St. John's Head tavern that Robert Greene, the dramatist, narrowly escaped assassination by some of the thieves whose tricks and haunts he had shown up.

1560-62. David Gyttons was Master, and Richard Smythe upper warden. ' Itm. for Muskadell fett at Mr. Smythes viij gallons at ijs. viijd. the gallon, xxis. iiijd.' ' Itm. for Sack fett att Mr. Smythes vd.'

David Gittens, who shared a cellar in the Vintry with Richard Smythe, as shown in the extract from Machyn's Diary, has been referred to in the account of the *Mermaid* in Bread Street. The later information (given in these extracts from the Vintner's records) shows that Smythe kept the Mermaid tavern, but it is not unlikely that Gittens had also an interest in the sale of wine there. He was perhaps the son of Richard Gyttens, who was one of the *Auditors* in 1510, and who may also have been connected with the *Mermaid*? David Gittens's will, which I find at Somerset House, shows that before his death, in 1584, he lived by the corner of Basing Lane, perhaps at the '*White Hart*.' He gave a Delft Tankard to the Vintners' Company, which they still possess, *inscribed* 'Thank David Gitting For $\frac{is}{Y}$.' I made the following extracts from his will. 1584. David Gyttyns, vintener. To be buried 'in thyle before my pewe doore in the paryshe churche of Saincte Mildredd in bread streete.' To that church he gives an annuity of 20s. out of the house in Basing Layne 'wherein I nowe dwell.' To the Company of Vintners for a Recreacion among them to be hadd, xls. To them 'a stone pott with a lydd of silver guilt the mouth, foote and Ribbes thereof garnished with silver and gilte having on the lydd thereof the vintners armes and my marke joyned withall.'

1562-4. Thomas Lowe (*Mitre* in Cheap) was Master, and Simon Palmer was upper warden. The latter died during his term of office, and Edward Betham, from the Boar's Head, Eastcheap, succeeded him at St. John's Head tavern.

1562. 'At the Castell att the Buriall of Maister Edwardes.' (He was probably the vintner there, and was doubtless William Edwardes, *searcher* in 1558-1561).

1563-4. The *Star* in Cheap was visited about seven times. 'Itm. for claret wyne fetched att the starre in cheape for the hall.' 'It. for sack fetchyd att the Starre.'

1565. The Bulhead at St. Martins, and the Three Tonnes in Newgate Market were visited. (The latter was another of the *forty* in 1553).

William Griffen was one of the Stewards, 1564-6, and was then at the Mermaid.

1566-8. Mr. Bethame's, Mr. Prannell's (the Castle), the Bear at the Bridge foot, Mr. Gryffin's, the Mermaid, and the Swan at Dowgate (kept by Nicholas Croswayt, then a warden) were visited. At a dinner at the Hall, the *Cook* was provided with 2 gallons of white wine, 'a pottell of Renyshe wyne, and a pottell of

sack '—let us hope that this generous allowance included his staff!

William Griffen was a warden, 1568-70. 'Itm. spent att the *M'armayd* in Bred Strete as by Bill appeareth xxxixs., vjd.' 'Dynner at Mr. Griffens 28 of februarie 1571 the Wardens and Assistance being there xxiijs.'

1574-6. William Griffen was upper warden, and several dinners were held at his house. John Pynder's (the Mitre) was also visited, and Mr. Abraham's, and Mr. Prannell's. 'At Mr. Prowses for a drinkin at the Wardens goinge to hampton courte,' refers to Thomas Prowse, then at the *Three Cranes*. The Horn in Fleet Street is mentioned. In 1576, the Company paid Mr. Skidmore £7 10s. for wine; £30 7s. to Mr. Griffen; £35 to Mr. Kelly; £4 11s. to Mr. Prowse.

1576-8. William Abrahams (Cardinal's Hat, Lombard Street), was Master, and Thos. Prowse one of the Wardens. The latter was paid £6 'for chaunging of a pipe of olde and ill Canara wyne in lieu of a but of Seck given to the l kep.' (Lord Keeper). A shilling was paid to the latter's *porter*. Mr. Jo. Edwards was paid for 2 hogsheads of wine given 'to M^r^ Secretary Wal.' (*Walsingham*).

A dinner at Mr. Griffen's is recorded in May 1576; and a view dinner was held at John Pynder's, the Mitre in Cheap (as shown in the account of that house).

1578-80. George Crowther (*Bull's Head*, St Martin's), Henry Prannell (*Castle*, Paternoster Row), Christopher Gibson (*Red Lyon*, near Lombard Street in 1564) and Brian Patterson, were Master and Wardens. I have added the *signs* of their houses from other sources. "The Red Lion," now at 8 Lombard Court (between Gracechurch Street and St. Clement's Lane) is possibly on the site of Gibson's house?

1584-6. Mr. Robert Withens was *Master*: I have shown (in my history of the Boar's Head in Eastcheap) that he was the father of Francis Withens, who gave the "Falstaff" cup to St. Michael's Vestry.

1587. The Audit dinner was held 'at the Myter in Cheape.'

In 1587-8, Robert Feltham, who kept the celebrated 'Bear at the Bridge foot,' was one of the wardens, and in 1588-9, Thomas Wright (Boar's Head, Eastcheap) was a warden.

1588-9. 'Itm. payd for a dinn^r^ at Mr. Williamsons on a corte daye, xxixs.' (I have shown in the earlier part of the book that William Williamson kept the Mermaid in Bread Street).

The *King's Head* in New Fish Street, and the *Swan* (probably at

Dowgate) were visited during this period, and in 1591, dinners at these houses were held.

'Item payde the xxith of March last for o^r^ vewe dynn^r^ at M^r^ Fitches, iijli. xs. vjd.' (Ralph Fitch, *Mitre* on Bread Street hill).

1592-3. John Pinder was upper warden (*Mitre* in Cheap). 'Itm. paide to Mr. Willm̃son when the Wardens did searche.' The next year two dinners were held at Mr. Williamson's on Court days.

1594-5. John Pinder was Master, and Ralph Fitch and Andrew Goodyear were wardens. There are several payments to Mr. Williamson.

1596-7. A payment 'at W^m^ Hobsons' is recorded. This is the earliest reference to the *Mitre* in Fenchurch Street that I recognise, and the Bread Street *Mitre* is only mentioned after about 1590. Before then, *the Mitre in Cheap* was always referred to. Similarly, we have not yet had a reference to any other *Mermaid* than the Bread Street house, though the Cheapside Mermaid *existed* in 1591, and after 1606 we shall find the *Mermaid* in *Cornhill* mentioned. The ancient *Mermaid* in Bread Street was not more than five minutes walk from Vintners' Hall, up Garlick or Bread Street Hill, and the references to "the Mermaid" were undoubtedly to the Bread Street tavern, and it was rarely deemed necessary to specify the *street*.

1597-8. Raffe Fitche was Master. An item of, 'vij Bushells of oates to feed the signettes, xjs.' serves to remind us of the expenses connected with the Swans on the Thames which belonged to the Company. Every year there is a full entry of the money paid out during the Swan-upping, including meals at various riverside places, such as Kingston.

'Item payed for a dinn^r^ at Mr. Willm̃sons about the affayres of o^r^ Companye, xvs. ixd.' 'Item given to George in Benevolens ivs.' This last item is interesting, as it suggests that *George*, the popular *drawer* referred to by Ben Jonson and Dekker at the *Mitre* in their plays, may have been a real character at the *Mermaid* in Bread Street.

The *audit* and *view* dinners were at Mr. Hobson's, and dinners were held at Mr. Williamson's and Mr. Horton's. John Horton was at the *Mitre* on Bread Street Hill, as shown in the account of that tavern.

1599-1600. 'Itm. paid to Mr. Pynder for a butt of secke given to my Lord Buckhurst, xixli. xs.' Let us hope that my lord used this handsome present of *sack* discreetly! There must have been

quite a little *stir* near the Great Conduit in Cheap when the great butt was brought out of the *Mitre*.

The *Greyhound* in Fleet Street was visited periodically from this time, probably when the Company's property in Salisbury Court was viewed. Three dinners were held this year at Williamsons, and two each at Pinder's and Horton's. 'Item paid for a dinner at Mr. Williamsons when o^r^ Counsell mete and went before y^e^ Counsell at my lo. Maio^rs^ xlijs.'

1600-1. W^m^ Williamson was second warden, and dinners were held at his house, at Pynder's, and Horton's, and at the King's Head and Sun in New Fish Street.

1602-3. Andrew Goodyere was Master. The Company did not patronise his tavern however (the Mermaid at Aldersgate), and the dinners were held at Williamson's, Horton's, Hobson's, and the Three Cranes; and, in 1603-4, at Pinder's, Williamson's and Three Cranes. The fact that the Aldersgate *Mermaid* was rather out of the way cannot have accounted for this curious neglect, and probably it lacked a suitable room for a large gathering.

1604-5. The *audit* dinner was at Mr. Cordell's (the *White Horse* in Friday Street). Perhaps I should remark that the names of the taverns occupied by the various vintners are not always given in these records, but in the earlier part of the book I have shown that W^m^ Williamson had the Bread Street Mermaid, John Pinder the Mitre in Cheap, etc.

1605-6. Mr. Williamson represented the Company at the dinner to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and the next item shows that he was now leaving the management of the *Mermaid* to W^m^ Johnson.

'Itm. paid to W^m^ Johnson at the Mearmaid in Bread Street, xlvs. iijd.'

1606-7. W^m^ Williamson was senior warden. Mr. Pinder was given £2 'for going to the Maiors to dynner.'

The *Mermaid in Cornhill* is now mentioned, and my suggestion that William Janson was the vintner there is confirmed. His personality evidently made this tavern a serious rival to the older ones, and I cannot help repeating that this probably *dates* the list in "News from Bartholomew Fair." 'Item spent at the Meremaid in Bread Streete at o^r^ coming from Westm^r^, xxjs.', and there is a payment for another dinner there, and one at Mr. Hobson's.

1607-8. 'Itm. paid for a dinner att the Mairemaid in Bread Streete for the Auditors . . . xvijs. xd.' A dinner was also held at the Cornhill Mermaid.

1608-9. William Williamson was Master. Nearly all the dinners, etc., were held at the Bread Street Mermaid (actually

some *fifteen* in number), and two at Mr. Bonham's (Castle in Paternoster Row), and one at the Globe in Fleet Street. The following are examples.

'Paid at the Mayermayd in Bred Streete for a dynner for the Mr and Wardeyns, xxvijs.'; 'Item for a dynner for the whole livereye att the Maiermayd in Bred Strete the xxth August at Mr. Pinders funerall';—'Itm. for a dynner at the Mayremayd in Bred Streete for all the Liverye . . . wherein the vjli. xiijs. iiijd. given by Mr. Mylwarde was spente, viijli. ixs.'

John Pinder's will showed that Mistress Anne Williamson was his kinswoman.

1609-10. Several dinners were held at *the Mermaid*, and also one at the Mermaid in Cornhill. (*The Mermaid* means the Bread Street house, which is evidently understood—the other houses are always designated by their *streets*).

1613-14. A payment 'at Mr. Henry Frithes' refers to Pinder's successor at the Mitre in Cheap. There are several payments at Mr. Johnson's, and three at Mr. Abell's (the *Ship* in Old Fish Street).

William Janson (Mermaid in Cornhill) was warden in 1614, and there are many payments to him for dinners, etc.

From now onwards, many fresh taverns were visited, and I cannot give more than a brief resumé. In 1617-18, there were *eleven* payments at the *Castle* in Pater Noster Row, doubtless because William Bonham there was a warden. The Mermaid in Cornhill, and the old taverns near the Hall—the Mermaid in Bread Street and the Three Cranes—were also visited. The Nag's Head in Cheap was also visited at this period, and the Old Bull's Head there.

1619-20. Wm Bonham was Master, and the *Castle* was much patronised, and also the *Sun* in Aldersgate Street. The Manchester Hotel at the south corner of Long Lane, is on the site of this well-known old tavern, then kept by Thomas Hutchinson, Warden of the Company.

1623-4. The *Rose* in the Poultry is often mentioned:—Wm Bowyer there was a warden. The Castle, the Three Cranes, the Bear at the Bridge foot, and the Mermaid in Bread Street were also visited, the latter generally for a dinner for the Assistants after a Court.

1624-6. The Three Cranes, the Horn in Fleet Street, the Rose at Temple Bar, the Three Tuns, Guildhall, the Fleece, Cornhill, Greyhound, Fleet Street, the Man in the Moon, Cheapside, and the Mermaid, Bread Street were all visited.

In connection with this question of the popularity of certain taverns it is interesting to remember that up to this period *the Thames* was the great highway of London, and the taverns near the stairs, such as the Three Cranes, the Mermaid in Bread Street, Swan in Old Fish Street, the White Horse, and the old taverns near London Bridge, were very favourably situated for custom. *Maitland* states that in 1625 there were not above twenty hackney-coaches in London, but by 1635 they had increased very greatly in numbers. From about 1625, therefore, the *street* traffic became more important, and taverns further afield became more accessible. This, together with the inevitable competition of other houses as London increased in size, and the creation by the Stewart kings of a rival *Court* district round Whitehall, doubtless affected the ancient taverns adversely, and the famous *forty*, of 1553, gradually lost their pride of place. Then in 1633, came Charles I's edict forbidding the serving of *meals* at the taverns, which, as we have seen, drew the distressed petition from William Meade of the Bread Street Mermaid. From this time, the Mermaid, the Three Cranes, the Mitres in Bread Street and Cheapside, and others, had doubtless to face an ever-increasing competition. It is a curious fact, and worthy of remark, that the *White Horse* in Friday Street is today the only surviving representative of the *forty* taverns of 1553.

1626-7. The *Antwerp*, by the Exchange, was visited seven times, the Star, the Bull Head in Cheap, and the Mermaid in Bread Street, once each.

1627-8. The *Dog* at Westminster, afterwards known to *Pepys*, was visited.

1629-30. The Mermaid in Bread Street was visited six times, for dinners, etc., the others mentioned are the Three Cranes, the Castle and the Antwerp.

1630-1. William Abell was a warden, and probably for this reason, the *Ship* in Old Fish Street was visited five times. In 1633-4, 'the Meremayd in Bread Streete,' and the *Catt* in Old Fish Street were visited, and a 'dynner with Musick att the Dagger,' cost 9s. This was probably the *Dagger* in Friday Street.

1634-6. The *Cardinal Wolsey* in Old Fish Street (of which there are two tokens) is mentioned.

1637-8. Wm. Abell, Alderman, was Master. He and Mr. Kilvert became very unpopular as 'farmers' of the wine trade, and were attacked by pamphlets, etc. Dinners are recorded at the *King's Head* in New Fish Street 'with our Master and Mr. Kilvert.' In 1638-9, the Three Cranes, Mr. Meade's, (one entry is of a dinner

for the Company at Mr. Mead's), and the Ship in Old Fish Street are mentioned.

1639. A payment to 'Mr. John Marshall at y^e^ Swan in Old fish Street' for a dinner, confirms my suggestion, made elsewhere, that he issued the token with initials *J.M.* The Mermaid in Bread Street is mentioned about fourteen times, as well as the Salutation, Billingsgate, the Mitre in Bread Street, and other taverns.

In 1641, the Mermaid in Paternoster Row is mentioned (evidently after a visit to the Prerogative Office about a will).

1642-3. The Mitres in Bread Street and Cheapside, and the Mermaid in Bread Street, were mentioned. The *Swan dinner* was at Mathew Forster's, who was a warden. The Queen's Head, Paternoster Row, is mentioned, I think for the first time; and a payment of 3s. 9d. 'at y^e^ fleece in Aldersgat street and at y^e^ Maremaid at Aldersgate' is the only reference to that *Mermaid* that I noticed in the accounts (probably this was in connection with the Bartholomew Fair search). The Dolphin in Tower Street is also mentioned.

1643-4. The number of taverns visited for dinners, etc., is very large at this period, and I will (for this one year) give the list. The Nag's Head, Cheapside, Swan Old Fish Street, Ship by the Exchange, Popes Head, Horn, Dog at Westminster, Ship in Bishopsgate Street, Boar's Head, Old Fish Street, Greyhound Garlick Hill, 'at the house called Heaven,' and 'at the place called Hell' (Westminster), the Leg there, Three Tuns, Newgate Market, King's Head, Fleet Street, King's Head, Old Fish Street, Dog at Ludgate, Salutation, Holborn.

In 1644-5, many of these were again visited, as well as the Mermaid in Bread Street, the Three Cranes, the Mitre in New Fish Street, and the Mitre within Aldgate.

1646. The Sun in New Fish Street, the Greyhound in Fleet Street, Three Tuns, Newgate Market, Man in the Moon, Cheapside, and the Nag's Head and Mitre there, were visited. In 1647-8, the Audit dinner was held at the *Mermaid* in Bread Street, and in 1648-9, *seven* dinners were held at the *Mitre* in Cheap (Thos. Dudley).

At a Court held in June, 1647, "It is ordered that Mr. Thos. Dudley shall have the Companies Barge w^th^ the oares . . . hee paying therefore three pounds and ten shillings. To w^ch^ the said Mr. Dudley assented."

He was second Warden in 1648-9, and I have shown that Scattergood succeeded him at the Mitre in Cheap in 1650, when he

seems to have retired into the country. In 1658, he was chosen upper Warden, but was excused from serving on paying 'the charges of xxs. for sending a messenger downe to him.' In 1659, he was again chosen, but "alleges that he is disabled in body by sickness and has been at great charges in buildings and is not in a capacity to fine or hould the place."

1652-3. The *Salutation* at Billingsgate was visited many times —Cordwell Hamond there was *Master*; and, in 1654-5, the *Swan* at Dowgate was patronised about a score of times, Thomas Cox there being a warden. Mr. Jones kept the Bread Street Mermaid in 1653.

1655-6. 'Paid for a dinner at the Mearemaid in Bread Streete after a Court of Assistants, ili. vs.'

1656. The Mitre in Fleet Street is mentioned, and the entry confirms my previous suggestion that William Paget joined the Vintner's Company about that time: "Spent and given away by our Masters appointm$^{t}$ at the Myter in fleete streete after dinner when Mr. Padgett was translated, xvjs." (He issued the token).

1656-7. The Mitre in Wood Street is mentioned, and also "the Mearmaid in Cheapside." (This is the only reference to this tavern, by Saddler's Hall, that I came across; the other references have been to the Mermaid in Bread Street, and, during Janson's tenancy especially, a few to the tavern in Cornhill). The usual dinner after a court was held at the Bread Street Mermaid.

"Spent at Mr. Dodsworths at the rec$^{t}$ of his fine for the livery, ijs." This is tantalising, for if only they had mentioned his *house* we should know whether my suggestion was correct, that he was the issuer of the Mermaid token with initials T.M.D.

In the Court Book, 1657, this is referred to: "At this Courte came Thomas Dodsworth and beinge desired to come into the Liv$^{y}$ of this Company hath loveingly accepted thereof." His name appears in a long list of persons chosen into the Liv$^{y}$ of this Company in 1656. The token of the Bread Street Mermaid, with initials T.M.D., is dated 1657. It is true that his will of 1662, which I found at Somerset House, mentions 'Thomas Michell' vintner (late husband of Alice my now wife),' but *M.* may have been the initial of a first wife.

William Meade, the vintner at the Mermaid in Bread Street, whose anxious *petitions* to the King in 1633-4 have been quoted, was evidently ruined by the change in religious observances as regards *fish* days, and the restrictions on the supply of meals by vintners, on the top of which came the decreasing importance of the *river* as a highway, and the general upset to the custom of

such an ancient tavern during the troubled years of the Civil War. As late as 1659-60, there is this entry in the Vintners' accounts:—"Pd to Willm Meade an ancient member of this Company by order," £2 10s. 0d.

This almost completes the references of any interest to the Mermaids and Mitres—the *Mitre* in Wood Street, during William Procter's tenancy, is mentioned in 1658 and 1663 (after the Bartholomew Fair Search), and the Mitre in Fenchurch Street in 1660-62, in which last year Dan Rawlinson was a warden,and also in later years. During the year following the destruction of a great part of the City by the Great Fire, it is interesting to note that the dinners were mostly held at the *Goat* in Smithfield, while the *Sun* in Aldersgate Street, and the *Cross Keys*, Holborn, were also visited. In 1670-1, the *Fleece* in Cornhill was favoured nine times, and the *Myter*, Fenchurch Street, was also visited.

Although I regret that I was unable to insert much of this material in the body of the book, there is some compensation in the fact that the above extracts, thus given together, present a consecutive *sketch* of the chief London taverns from Henry VII's time to the Fire of London, and convey a good idea of their relative importance or popularity. Most of the individuals named were members of the Vintners' Company, which as the head-quarters of the English wine-trade, was directly and intimately associated with the taverns, and we may regard the long patronage of the Mermaid in Bread Street, the Mitre in Cheap, and a few other taverns, as a sort of *hall-mark* denoting their merits and standing. If the Company's accounts existed for the period 1463-5, we should doubtless find these ancient taverns in evidence, with the Pope's Head, and the St. John's Head at Ludgate (which was also visited by Sir John Howard at that time) —and perhaps long before those years.

The wonderfully complete series of accounts, from the time of Henry VIII., contain a great deal of matter of general interest. The various foodstuffs provided for the dinners (including a great variety of birds and fish) with their prices, and the expenses connected with the Companys' *game* of Swans on the Thames, may be specially mentioned. Here and there we find items of *historical* interest, such as the following one, in the year of the Restoration: "Provisions for dinner . . . at the entertainment of his Excelency the Lord Generall Monke the Counsell of State-Generalls feild offic[r]," for which the *wine* was provided by Mr. Cloudesly, Warden Turner (who issued the token at the *Man in the Moon*, Cheapside), and Mr. Dan Rawlinson (Mitre, Fenchurch Street). There was

also a bill at the Three Crane Tavern for the Livery of the Company ' and the Generalls life guard.'

## APPENDIX B.

### Vintners' Company, Poll Tax List, 1641.[1]

*This list is of such interest and value that I will give it nearly in full.*

The Master and Wardens of the Vintners London, their accomp$^{t}$ for Poll monie.

The names of such of the clothing of the Companie of vinteners as payd their rate at the vintners hall.

| | li. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mathew Terrey at y$^{e}$ bell in Distaffe lane fyned for Master .. .. .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| George Gopsell at y$^{e}$ Anchor in St. Olaves Southwark, held warden. .. | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| Ralph King at y$^{e}$ popes head in lumb$^{d}$ street held warden .. .. .. .. .. .. | — | | |
| Cordell Hamond at y$^{e}$ Salutacon by Billingsgate held warden .. .. .. .. .. .. | — | | |
| Ralph More at y$^{e}$ Kings head in Newfish Street held warden .. .. .. .. .. .. | — | | |
| Andrew Courtman at y$^{e}$ W$^{lte}$ lion Gracechurch street held warden .. .. .. .. .. | — | | |
| Alex: Child upon y$^{e}$ key at Billingsgate .. .. | — | | |

[The following paid £5 each—the words " At y$^{e}$ " are omitted in the rest of the list].

Henry Crone, Naggeshead in Cheap; Tho. Whaplett, 3 leggs at St. Michaell at Querne; *Tho: Langton, Miter in y$^{e}$ Strond; Edw. Woodward, Anchor in Thames street; John Shaw, 3 tons at pye corner; Tho: Simcotts, 3 tons in Newgate mket; ** Tho: Dudley, Miter in Cheap; Geo. Stanley, Castle in fleet street; Jo: Wilcox, Goat in Smithfield; *Tho. Darling, 3 tons at Charingcrosse; James Mason, Castle neere St. Sepulchres; ** W$^{m}$ Bellamy, Rose neere fleetbridge; Law$^{r}$ Warkman by trade a habd., Cock on London bridge; Joseph Rogers, bell in Newgate mkt; John Carr, 3 Cranes in y$^{e}$ old bailey; Edw: Faulconer

[1] P.R.O. Subsidies 251/22

hatt in lumb[d] Street; W[m] Powell, castle neere Creplegate; Jo: Ballerd, glo[be] at fleet conduit; W[m] Cochman, Swan, holborne barrs; Roger Conyers, grayhound in blackfryers; W[m] Lee, Globe by y[e] Old Exchange; Theod. Collins, 3 Cranes in Southwark W[m] [a hole in MS. here—probably *Moore*], Kings head in New fish street; Robt. Quaterman, Queenes head in P[r]n[r] row; Tho: Cox, Swan at Dowgate; Christofer Medcalfe, Queenes head in Bishopsgate street.

Widows.

| | li. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mary Philips widow of Christopher Philips, flying horse in Maiden lane, of y[e] clothing .. .. | 1 | 13 | 4 |
| Margaret Axtell widow of Nathaniell Axtell, rose in Newgate Mkett .. .. .. .. .. | 1 | 13 | 4 |

The names of such other free vintners not of the clothing as pd. 3li. a peece at the Vintners hall.

Domenick Turner, white hart at Bishopsgate; Richard Taylor, kings head by y[e] spittle; Geo. Smithson, Sun in holborne; W[m] Maior, 3 cups in holborne; Hen. Collins, boreshead by Smithfield barrs; John Booker, red lion in Gracechurch street; John Barker, Shipwrack in fanchurch street; W[m] Oldberry, Roebuck in lumbd. street; Jo: Medley, 3 Cranes in y[e] vintry; W[m] Radford, George in y[e] Whitefryers; Geo. Burdet, fountayne in St. Anns lane; W[m] Agg Bell in ye Strond; Richard Hall, grashopp[r] by M'chant t'hall; Anth: Saxton, bear at fleet bridge; ** Sam: Turner, man in y[e] moone in Cheape; John Jackson, Queenes armes in Cheape; ** Tho: Tuson, 3 (to)ns at St. Maryhill; ** Philemon Powell, horne in fleetstreet; Hen.Goldston, dog at Newgate; ** Richard Hyat, rose at temple barre; Jonathan Barford, bull head in Southwark; Nat. Stucky, White beare in Cornehill; W[m] Wale, Antwerp by y[e] Exchange; ** Ascanius Hicks, Great James in Bishopsgate street; Nath. Field, kings head by Smithfield barrs; Geo. Carter, Kings Arms in y[e] Shambles; Jos. Byfield, White lion in Caning str.; ** Jo: Doe, halfe moone in y[e] Strond; ** Tho: Padnoll, Sun in new fish street; Tho. Ampe, ship in old baily; Philip Dallow, Miter in fleet street; * W[m] Procter, Miter in Wood Street; Tho. Nason, bullhead neare Charing crosse; Jo: Drayton, Queeneshead by y[e] Custome house; ** Tho: Benson, Bull head in Cheape; P[r] Cox, kings head at Dowgate; P[r] Hind, golden lion in y[e] Strond; ** Gilbert Brandon, Swan in New fish Street; Jo. Gowland, Swan in Russell Street, Ric. Jenkins, bell in holborne Inholder; John Child, clark dwg at Vinten[rs] Hall; Jo. Anslow, feathers in y[e] Strond; Jo: Jones,

inholder, 3 Cupps in bread street; Edw: Terrey, bell in distaffe lane; Jo: Cholmeley, Maidenhead in Walbrooke; * Tho: Werge, Queenes Armes in St. Martins.

" The names of such p'sons free vintners as were not of habilitie to paye iijli. . . . yet payd the severall somes hereafter mentioned." . . . (the sums paid vary from 5s. to £2—"at y^e" is omitted in each case).

Humphrey Hinton, Beare Birchen lane; James Bull, Bull Wapping; Henry Hodgkins, Sun Wapping; Rich. Smith, Queenshead east Smithfield; Tho. Taylor, Ram Southwark; Francis Mussli^s (?), S^r John Oldcastle in Pye Corner; W^m Clark, Angell in Fanchurch street by Algate; Hastings Cooke, King's head neere Denm'k house (Strand); Henry Parkhurst, Naggshead without Bishopsgate; Robert Amery, Rose and Crowne Poultry; W^m Cash, Miter in Bread Street; ** John Steele, Cardinalls hatt in Lumb^d Street; Christofer Fisher, Ram, Ram Alley; * Pelham More, Sun Moregate; John Parry, Bell w^thin Temple barre; Michaell Field, King of Sweden Bishopsgate street; **Abraham Atwood, Red lion Ratcliff; * W^m Long Junior, Rose Covent Garden; Jeffery George, Katherine Wheele Tuttill Street; James Gascoigne, * Crosskeys Covent Garden; Tho. Sleightholme, White hart, Smithfield; Tho: Wearall, 3 tons Westminster; ** W^m King, Fountaine Fanchurch street; Francis Palfreyman, 3 Cranes by Savoy; Tho. Smithson, Globe holborn, Edw. Pettit, Mouth at Bishopsgate; Ambrose Paulson, greene dragon Lambeth hill; John Winslow, Palsgrave without Temple barr; Miles Clark, Miter Bishopsgate Street; Tho. Atkins, Red lion lumb^d-street; Jason Rawlinson, 3 tons Thames Street; **John Firebrace, Anchor Minories; Rich^d Ordway, 3 tons Fleet Street; John Isham, White horse, Friday street; Tho. Holmes, Ship Smithfield, ** Daniell Rawlinson, Miter Fanchurch street; W^m Mitchell Sun Milke Street; W^m Austin, Bell Westminster; Hugh Best, Bull head Cow lane; Nathaniell Haukeridge, Starr Bishopsgate street; ** W^m Tapping, M'maid Cornhill; John Westley, Bell St. Nicholas lane;

Tho. Cole, Ship y^e backside of Old fish street; Henry Banister, halfe Moone St. Lawrence lane; Arthour Flack, Swan Lumb^d-Street; W^m Hicks, Fountayne Minories; John Standeven, Golden Gate Bloomsbury; Rowland Gethings, Rose and Crown Poultry; Geo. Crosse, M'maid by Charing cross; John Duncan, Shovell Cornhill; W^m Fawcett, Queeneshead St. Martin's lane.

The *asterisks* before the names denote the issuers of *tokens*,

in Williamson and Boyne's list. Two asterisks call attention to the tokens on which there are initials only, and of which the issuers' names (with the exception of Dan. Rawlinson) were unknown to *W. & B.*

"The Great James," Bishopsgate Street. I suspected, before seeing this list, that Ascanius Hicks, vintner, was the issuer of the token of the Ship tavern, with initials A.S.H., for I found several entries of Ascanius and Susan Hicks in the registers of St. Helen's. The *Ship* on the token (and no doubt on the sign-board) probably represented a ship called the Great James. Pepys generally refers to the house as 'the Old James.'

List of the Authorities consulted.

It would be merely tedious to give a complete list of all the printed works consulted for the purposes of this work, but wherever an extract of any importance is quoted, the source is acknowledged in the text. *Hatton's* account of the streets and parishes in 1708 is frequently referred to, and also *Burn's* and *Williamson and Boyne's* lists of traders' tokens—the latter is often referred to as *W. & B.*

*MS. Sources.* These form by far the most important part of this work, especially as they are, for the most part, *unpublished.*

MS. Churchwardens' and Vestry Accounts of various City Churches.

Church Registers.

MS. records of various City Companies, at the Guildhall, or, in some cases, at their own Halls.

Fire Decrees.—The Decisions of the Judges at Clifford's Inn.—Guildhall MS.—9 volumes.

Hustings Rolls.—in the Record Office, Guildhall.

Repertories, or Minutes of the Common Council, Guildhall.

Survey for the rebuilding after the Fire, by Oliver and Mills, Guildhall Library.

Record Office. Subsidy lists of various Wards and parishes.

*Maps* of London. Ogilby and Morgan, 1677 (referred to as O. & M.); Morden and Lea, 1682; Strype, 1720; Rocque, 1746; Maitland, 1756; Horwood, 1794.

# INDEX.


Abell, William, Alderman; (*Ship*, Old Fish Street), Warden of Vintner's Company, 1630, Master 1637; he and Mr. Kilvert unpopular as farmers of wine, 186.
Adam and Eve, Ram Alley, the, 134.
Aldersgate, 43.
Aldgate, the Mitre Tavern, 119.
Alsatia, 133.
Anderton's Hotel, *see* Horn Tavern.
Antwerp Tavern, Exchange; visits by Vintners' Company, 1626, 186, 191.
Attwood, Edward, token at Half Moon, Cheapside (not the tavern), 45.
Aubrey, 105, 117.
Audley, Sir Thos., given Holy Trinity Priory, his vandalism, 120.

Bacchus, Ivy sacred to, 67.
Balcony house, Fleet Street, (*see* George Sparkes).
Bannister, John, King's Musician, 137-9.
Barford, Jonathan, vintner, Devil Tavern, his household and token, 147.
Barwell, John, King's saddler, visited by Pepys, his household, 145; hearths, 147.
Battersby, John, apothecary, friend of Pepys, his family, and death, 127-9.
Bear at Bridge-foot, Robert Feltham, Master of Vintners' Company, 1587-8, 182, 185.
Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, dramatists, 1, 7, 21, 30, 31; 'Wit Without Money' 33; 'The Captain,' 34.
Becket, Thomas, Archbishop, his birthplace, 83, 86; shrine, 86, 95.
Bell, Mr. W. G., 122, 132-3, 143.
Bell, the, London Wall, Music house, token, 163.
Bellamy, Wm., vintner at Rose tavern Fleet Bridge, token, 157.
Berkeley Castle, 83.
Billingsgate, 68-71, noted for wine and oysters, 71.
Birds, great variety of, *see* Poulterers.
Black Spread Eagle Court, and Milton, 117-8.
Bolt and Tun Yard, Fleet Street, 134.
Bonham, William, Castle, Paternoster Row, Vintners' Company, 1619, 185.
Boswell, life of Johnson, 126-7.
Bow Lane, 32, 72-4, 136.
Breach, B. I'Anson, Esq., Master of the Vintners' Company, 176.
Bromley's Buildings, *see* Mitre, Bread Street.
Buck, a fat, part of rent for the Mermaid, Bread Street, and the Horn, Fleet Street, 13, 154; Eaten at Vintners' Company dinners, a horse to fetch, 177; at Mitre in Cheap, 178.
Buffone, Carlo, (Ben Jonson), 103-5.
Bull's Head, Fleet Street, token, 152.
Bull's Head, St. Martin's, 179; George Crowther, vintner, Master, 1578, 182.
Burn, J. H., on London tokens, 7, 9, 14, 44, 85-6, 159.
Bush, the, on taverns—Ivy used for, 67.

Cardinal's Hat Tavern, Lombard Street, Wm. Abraham, vintner, 179; Master, 1576.
Cash, Wm., vintner, Mitre, Bread Street, 112, 192.
Castle Tavern, Paternoster Row, 23, 130, 180, 181 (Henry Prannell, vintner); William Bonham there, Master, 1619, many dinners there, 185.
Castle Tavern, Wood Street, 165; token, 169 (and *see* Mitre, Wood Street).
Cat and Fiddle, the, Fleet Street, 135, 140-3.
Charles I., statue of, Charing Cross, 76.
Charles V., Emperor, visits London, 97.
Cheapside, pageants, 42; Mermaid in, 36, etc.; pageants, 42; Mitre in, 83, etc.
Cheyney, Ashley, vintner, Mitre Fenchurch Street, 126.
Chittey, John, vintner, Mermaid Bread Street ?, 29.
Clockmakers' Company, the, 48, 129.
Coaches, Hackney, increase after 1625, rivalry to Thames boats and stairs, effect on taverns, 186.

Cock Alehouse, Fleet Street, token, 149.
Coffee House Jests, 80, 154.
Compter, the, Wood Street, 168.
Conduit, the Great, Cheapside, 42, 84, 87, close to the Mitre, its chain, 92.
Conduit Tavern, the, 99 (the Mitre in Cheap ?).
Coryat, Thomas, 1, 7, 21; his remarkable travels, and death in India, 31; letters to the Mermaid frequenters, refers to the Mermaid in Bread Street, 32; his 'Crudities' 33, 74, 114, 116.
Cunningham, Peter, 84, 132, 133.
Currants (Raisins of Corinth), 175.

Dallowe, Philip, vintner, Mitre Fleet Street, 136.
Dekker and Webster, 'Westward Hoe,' 23.
Devil and St. Dunstan's Tavern, Temple Bar, 143; Simon Wadlow and Ben Jonson, 145, the Apollo Room, 146, references to in plays, 148.
Dinners; at the Mermaid, 59; at the Fountain, 65; Mitre, Bread Street, 112, Plumbers' Company, 118; St. Botolph's, Aldgate, 121; at King's Head and Horn, Fleet Street, 152-156; Vintners' Company bill of fare 1507, 174; 1509, variety of birds eaten, 175.
Dodsworth, Thomas, vintner, 28; issuer of token at Mermaid in Bread Street ?, 28, his will, 29; mentioned in Vintners' records, 188.
Dodoen's Herbal, 175.
Donne, John, Dean of St. Paul's, and poet, 7, 21, 32, 33, 45, 47-9, 115-8; born in Bread Street, 115; his father, 116; quotations from, 116-7 his marble effigy, 118; poems sold by Chancery Lane End, 154.
Dudley, Thomas, vintner at the Mitre in Cheap, 86, 88; his token, 89; entries concerning, in St. Mary's Colechurch registers, etc., 89, 91, 92. Vintners' Company dine seven times at his house, 1648; to have the Company's barge, warden, 187; chosen upper Warden, 188.
Durban, Christopher, vintner at Mitre in Cheap, 93.

Edward II., murder of, 83.
Ely Place, 123; and Shakespeare, 124.
Emperor's Head Tavern, Thames Street, 175.
'Every Man out of his Humour,' (Ben Jonson), scenes at the Mitre, 103-5.
Eyre, Miles, vintner, Mitre, Bread Street, 110; will, 111.

Farr, James, Rainbow Coffee House; his household, 145; hearths, 147.
Fenchurch Street, 124-7.
Fencing, in inn yards, 106.
Fire Decrees, 52, 70, 128; Fleet Street, balcony house, 137-8, 144; Mitre, St. Paul's Churchyard, 160.
Fire, the Great 6; Mermaid in Bread Street, 13; Mermaid Cheapside, 37; Mermaid, Billingsgate, 70; St. Mary Colechurch, 94.
Fish Dinners, at the Mermaid in Bread Street, 8, 14, 27, 108, 114.
Fishmonger's Company, the, owned the Mermaid in Bread Street, 9-13; kindness of, and of Mr. Hooper, Clerk of the Company, in giving information, 10, 21.
Fish Street, New, its former importance, 157; affected by removal of Old London Bridge, 158-9.
Fish Street, Old, 13, 14, 186-7.
Fitch, Ralph, vintner at the Mitre, Bread Street, 21, 60, 111; searcher of Vintners' Company, 1583-96; Master of Vintners' Company, 1597, 183; Company dinners at his house, 159, 183.
Fleet Street, some noted inhabitants of, position of houses, 145-7.
Flying Horse Tavern, Maiden Lane, 170.
Fountain Tavern, *see* Mermaid, Aldersgate.
Fountain, the, in St. Anne's Lane, names of rooms in, 53-4.
Friday, at taverns, 107, 114.
Fryth, Henry, vintner, Mitre in Cheap, 90; succeeds John Pinder, 101; will, 102; 185.
Fuller, Isaac, 128.
Fuller, Richard, draper, lessee of the Mermaid, Bread Street, 12, 13, 26.
Fuller, Thomas, 30, 31, 105-6.

Gent, John, vintner at King's Head, Fleet Street, 22; presented in 1588, his will, 150.
George, drawer at the Mitre, mentioned in old plays, 101, 104-5, 115; 183.
Goldsmiths' Company, and Horn Tavern, 154-6.
Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, 8, 45.
Goodyear, Andrew, vintner, Mermaid, Aldersgate, 24; deeds concerning, 49, 50, 58; his tavern bills, 58-9, searcher; presented, 60; 61-2; Master of Vintners' Company 1602; this Mermaid not patronised by the Vintners' Company, 184.

Goose and Gridiron, St. Paul's Churchyard, 159-161; Coaches from, 160, 162; Signs, 161; *Vademecum for Maltworms*, 161. (*See also* Mitre there).
Great Conduit, Cheapside, the, 42, 84, 87; its Chain, 92.
Great James, Bishopsgate Street; token and issuer; probably the Ship Tavern, 191, 193.
Grey, Christopher, vintner, Mermaid Aldersgate, 50, 55.
Greyhound tavern, Blackfriars, 23.
Greyhound tavern, Fleet Street, 23, 184.
Gryffin, William, vintner, Mermaid, Bread Street, 17, 20; will, 20; presented, 1568, etc., 20; 113; Steward of Vintners' Company 1546-6, 181; the Company visits his house, 181; warden; dinners at Mermaid, 182; upper warden, 1574-6; more dinners there, 182.
Gyttons, David, vintner, 18, 19; Machyn visits his cellar, 19; 178; shared a cellar with Richard Smythe of the Mermaid, Bread Street, 181; his will, lived then in Basing Lane; gift of a tankard to Vintners' Company, which they still possess, 181, Master of Company, 1552-4, 179.
Hacket, Wm., religious fanatic, 40.
Half Moon Tavern and Passage, Cheapside, adjoining Saddlers' Hall, probably the *Mermaid* before the Fire, 37-39; Mathew Fowler, vintner, 43; Tokens attributed to, 44; Edward Attwood's token discussed, 45; noted in 18th Century; afterwards the New London Tavern, 48. (*See also*, Mermaid, Cheapside).
Harrison, Wm., vintner, Mitre, Bread Street, 18, 111, 113.
Hatton Garden, 123.
Hearth Tax lists, 43, 68, 80, 93; Fleet Street, 145-7; 156.
Henry VIII., 95-97.
Hercules Pillars, Fleet Street, 144; Pepys, 144, 147.
Heywood, Thomas, dramatist, 102, 108.
Hobson, William, vintner, Mitre, Fenchurch Street, 24, 126; Searcher and warden of Vintners' Company, 126; the Company dine at his house 183, 184.
Hobson, William, haberdasher, Poultry, 98.
Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, 120.
Hopkinson, Mr. H. L., F.S.A., 77.
Horn Tavern, Fleet Street, 22, 23; and Goldsmiths' Company, Anderton's Hotel, 154; Henry Radcliffe, Henry Parkinson, Philemon Powell, vintners, 154-5; leases of, 155; Tokens, 155; Churchwardens' dinners, 156; 185.
Horton, John, vintner, Mitre in Bread Street; presented, 22, 112; Searcher, 112, 115; Vintners' Company dine at his house, 119, 183-4.
Howard, Sir John, 14.
Hustings Rolls, 10, 11, (Mermaid in Bread Street); 49-51 (Mermaid, Aldersgate); 110-112 (Mitre, Bread Street); 140 (Mitre, Fleet Street).
Hutchinson, Matthew, vintner, Fountain, Aldersgate, 52, 55, 63-5, 67. (*See also*, Mermaid, Aldersgate)

Innholders, and Company, 3, 15.
Inns, 3, 4.
Inquisitions P.M., 111.

Janson, William, vintner at Mermaid, Cornhill, 1607-1619; tavern became noted under, mentioned in St. Peter's registers; searcher for vintners, 78; Vintners' Company dine at his house, 184, 185.
John's Head, the St., Ludgate, 130; visited by Vintners' Company, 179; kept by Simon Palmer, vintner, 1554 onwards; Vintners' Company visit Castle at the burial of his wife (this supplies blank names in Machyn's Diary), Robert Greene there, 180; S. Palmer upper Warden, 179.
Johnson, Samuel, 131-2, at the Mitre, Fleet Street.
Jonson, Ben, 1, 6, 21, 29-34; 71, 87; 'Every Man out of his humour' 103; 105, 108, 114, 115; Epigram, 141; and the Devil Tavern, 145-6.

Kent, Thomas, vintner, King's Head Fleet Street; his household, 151; issued the token, payments for dinners etc., 152-3; annoyance about lights, 153.
King, William, the Crown, Hercules Pillars, Visited by Pepys, 144; presented for illegal measures, 148.
King's Evil, the, 91.
King's Head Tavern, Fleet Street, John Gent, vintner, presented 1598, 22, 23; by the corner of Chancery Lane; its site; one of the forty taverns in 1554, 149, 150; John Gents' wlls, bequest to his cousin, Simon Wadlow, 150; Thomas Kent, vintner, issuer of token, 151; the 3 shops by tavern entry, 151; Henry Morris and Lewis Willson, vintners; their token (their names, and Kent's, not given by *W. & B.*); King's

Head mentioned, 1472; Pewterers' Company dine there with Thomas Cromwell, 153; Richard Marriott's shop, 154; Story in Coffee House jests, 154.

Lambeth Tithes List, 1638, 27, 55, 140, 159.
Langton, Thomas, Vintner, Mitre in Strand, token, 163, 190.
List of MS. sources examined, 193.
London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 124, 178.
London Tavern, New, formerly the Half Moon, Cheapside, 4.
Lovat, Lord, execution of, 130.
Low, Thos., vintner, Mitre, Cheap, 95-97; warden of Company, 178; Master, 181.
Machyn, Henry, Diary, 19, 23, 120, 155; *blanks* supplied (funeral at St. John's Head), 180.
McMurray, William, 49-54, 59, 62.
Manuscript sources mainly relied on in this work; fresh facts only obtained thus, 1, 4, 193.
Marriott, John, publisher, 151, 154.
Marriott, Richard, publisher, by King's Head Tavern, 154.
Mart, Wm., vintner, King's Head, Fleet Street, token, 152.
Maypole, the, in Strand, 163.
Mead, William, Vintner, Mermaid, Bread Street, 12, 14, 25; formerly at White Horse, Friday Street, 26; petitions the King; his fish dinners, 27; Vintners' Company grants relief, 188.
Mercers' Company and Hall, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 95; obtain the property of St. Thomas of Acon, including the Mitre in Cheap, 96.
Merchant Taylors' Company, 77, 78, 118.
Mermaid and Mitre Signs, conclusion, definite history taken further back in this work, of the taverns and their vintners, and sites identified, 1, 4, 173; Fresh facts obtained from unpublished MS. sources, 1, 4, 173, 193.
Mermaid, the badge of the Earls of Berkeley, 82.
Mermaid Sign, the 2; at Reims, 2, illustrations of, 5; 13, 115.
Mermaid Tavern, Aldersgate, 48-56; became later the Fountain, the Mourning Bush, and the Raglan, 48; Hustings Rolls, description of site, 49-51; probably on site of church property, the Star, 52; account of Timbs, 55; Andrew Goodyear, vintner, 49-60; his dinner bills, 59; Matthew Hutchinson, vintner, issued two tokens, 52-54, 65; and the Fire, 52; Miss Wotton and, 57, 58; the tokens, 63; Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Annes', 64-66; its cellars, 67; later history, now *the Raglan*, 68. Andrew Goodyear, Master of Vintners' Company, 1602-3; the tavern not patronised by the Company for dinners, first mention noted in 1642, 184, 187.
Mermaid Tavern, Billingsgate, 68-71. Tokens, 69, 70; Valentine Hayward and Robt. Cash; Fire Decree concerning, 70. Queen of Bohemia's Head, 69; Fire Decree, 70; Billingsgate noted for wine and oysters, 71.
Mermaid Tavern, Bow Lane, 72-74; John Powell, vintner; his token, 72; baptisms of children, 73; his mother Sara Powell, fined, 72; her will, 73; Its. Site, 72-3; plan in Mills and Olivers' Survey, 72; now the Old Watling Restuarant, 72, 73. Chaucer's family and Bow Lane, 74.
Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street, 1; its real site never before ascertained, 6; confused with the Mermaid in Cheapside, 6; Ben Jonson and his circle there, 7; discussion of site, 7-10; Burn 'established' its site near Cheapside, and the token he used as evidence, 9; his statements generally accepted, 8, etc.; the tavern belonged to the Fishmongers' Company, 10; Hustings Rolls concerning, 10, 11; Vintners at, 11, 12; leases by Fishmongers' Company to Wm. Williamson, and others, 11-13; site leased after the Great Fire, 13; near Old Fish Street 13, 14; visits by Sir John Howard, 14, by Pewterers' Company, 15; the only Mermaid in the forty permitted, 1553; full list quoted (from Guildhall MS.), 16; Wm. Gryffin, vintner, 16; Machyn visits Richard Smyth's cellar, subsidy list, 1563; 19; Vintners' Company dine at Mr. Smyth's (Mermaid), 1556, 8; Wm. Gryffin, vintner there presented, his will, 20; William Williamson, vintner there in Ben Jonson's time; Coryat and the 'Sirenaick's'; searcher, 1588, etc., 21; long list of vintners *presented*, 22; Williamson Master of Vintners' Company, 1608, his will, 25; William Johnson associated with him after 1603, 24; Subsidy lists, St. Mildred's parish, 25; William Meade, vintner, 26; his petitions

to Charles I, 27; Mermaid noted for fish dinners, 27; near the Stairs, 27; tokens of, and possible issuers, 28, 29; Ben Jonson and Beaumont and, 29, 31; Thomas Coryat and, 31-33; the 'Sirenaicks' 32; references to in plays, 33; mentioned in various Churchwardens' accounts 35; its site today, 35; Vintners' Company dinners etc. there, 130, 141; in 1533, 176; Master's dinner there, 1537; Company dinners, 1540-1546, 177; other dinners, etc., 178-9; 1556 dinner at Mr. (Richard) Smythe's there, R. Smythe, searcher and warden, many dinners at his house, 1556-58; wine supplied by him, 1560, 180; Smythe and David Gittons, the latter's will, 181; dinners at Wm. Gryffin's there, 1568-76; dinner at (William) Williamson's there, 1588-1598, 183; George (the drawer?), 183; dinners there 1600-1706; Wm. Williamson, Master, 1608, some *fifteen* dinners at the Mermaid, 185; later dinners, most years to 1646, 186, 187; competition of fresh taverns, 186; Thomas Dodsworth, issuer of token?, 188.

Mermaid Tavern at Charing Cross, 74-76; near the Mews, 74; token of, lottery at, 75.

Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside, 36-48; confused with the Mermaid in Bread Street, 36; adjoined Saddlers' Hall, and belonged to that Company, 37; destroyed by the Fire, 37; probably called the Half Moon Tavern after the Fire, 37-39, etc.; its site, 38; tokens of, 39; Mermaid Court, 40, 41; Hacket at, 40; Leake's Map, 41; no evidence of visits by the dramatists, 41; its important site, 42; Symon Sutton vintner there, 43; hearth tax list, Matthew Fowler, vintner at Half Moon, 1674; the Half Moon tavern, 44-48; also belonged to Saddlers' Company, 46; replaced the Mermaid, 46, 47; Dr. Franckland rebuilt site, 47 (and *see* plan); several Cheapside taverns more important, 47, Half Moon a noted tavern, became the 'New London Tavern,' 48. Present site, 48. Tavern not specified in Vintners' Company accounts (dinners, etc.), till 1656: *the Mermaid* constantly visited was the Bread Street house (*see Appendix*).

Mermaid Tavern, Cornhill, 76-81; Token of, issued by William Tapping, 76, 79; site identified, 76-7; William Janson vintner there; mentioned in parish registers, 78; the tavern became noted in his time; Thomas Whaley, vintner, 78; Thomas Wastall, vintner there, defective wines, 79; Wm. Tapping, 79; Coffee House Jests, 80; the only Mermaid in 'News from Bartholomew Fair,' 80; possibly this dates list in Janson's time; Vintners' Company held many dinners there, 1606-1614; Wm. Janson Warden in 1614; see pp. 184, 185.

Mermaid Tavern, Paternoster Row, tokens, site, 81; plan in Survey, 81.

Mermaid, Red Cross Street, token, 81.

Mermaid, Wood Street, John Sedgwick, vintner, presented, 1609.

Mermaid Inn, Carter Lane, the only Mermaid Inn noticed in London; close to Addle Hill; Taylor mentions it for carriers from Gloucester, etc., possibly connected with pilgrims to Gloucester, to shrine of Edward II; the Mermaid was badge of Earls of Berkeley, 82, 83.

Mews, the, Charing Cross, 74; origin of name, the King's falcons kept there, 75.

Middleton, Thomas, dramatist, 87, 'Your Five Gallants,' 106-8, 114.

Milbourne, Thomas, History of St. Mary Colechurch, 94, 95; History of Vintners' Company, 174.

Mildred's, St., Bread Street, 10, 11, 29, parish lists, 25-27.

Milton, John, born in Bread Street, 117; his birth place, 117-8; his father assessed, 118.

Mitre Court, Bread Street, 112.
,, ,, Cheapside, 84.
,, ,, Holborn, 132.
,, ,, St. Paul's Churchyard, 160.

Mitre Sign, the, 2, 83, 128.

Mitre Tavern, Aldgate, on site of Holy Trinity Priory, token, 119; Vintners at, 120, 121.

Mitre Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, 121; issuer of token, 122.

Mitre Tavern, Bread Street Hill; 18, 22; its site, 109; quotation from play by George Wilkins, 109, 110; Dolphin and Pomegranate rooms, 110; Wm. Rowley's play quoted, 110; Husting Rolls, 110; Miles Eyre, Inq. P.M., 111; Wm. Harrison vintner there, petition, 1564; Ralph Fitch, warden of Vintners' Company searcher, 1583-90; Master of Company, 1597; 111, John Horton, vintner there, 1594-1603, 111, 112; Lewis Bromley's sale of, 112; *Bromley's Buildings* now

represent Mitre Court, 112, William Cash, vintner there, 1641; dinners of Plumbers' Company, 112; Subsidy list of St. Nicholas Olave's, 1563, William Harrison, John Dunne (father of John Donne, poet), 113; discussion whether Ben Jonson and Middleton referred to this Mitre or the tavern in Cheap; points in favour of Bread Street tavern, 114, 115; *George*, the drawer, 115; John Donne, poet and Dean of St. Paul's, born close to the Mitre, 116; his great talent; quotations from 116, 117; John Milton's father in Bread Street, in Subsidy list, 117; Donne's statue in St. Paul's, 118; tavern near Vintners' Hall; that Company often dine there, 1601 (at Mr. Horton's), to 1611; probably Middleton's *Mitre*, 119. *Vintners' Company records*, dinners, etc. there after 1589, dinners at Ralph Fitch's; He was Master in 1597; dinners at John Horton's 1598-1602, 183, 184; later dinners there, 187; Wm. Cash, Vintners' poll list, 192.

Mitre Tavern, Chancery Lane; a flourishing house to-day, 122; existed in 1855, 123.

Mitre Tavern, Cheapside, 83; adjoined and belonged to Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, 83; close to Great Conduit; various opinions as to site, Mitre Court, Cheapside, 84; Burn's erronous statements, confusion with the Mitre in Bread Street, 85; issuer of token, 85; Burn's suggestion, and the real issuer, 86; important site, Thomas Becket, 86; its real site, John Scattergood, vintner, 87; Thomas Dudley, vintner, issuer of the token, details concerning, 88, 89; St. Mary Colechurch parish lists, 89 etc.; Churchwarden's accounts, 90-93; the four shops by Mitre Entry, 92, 93; Vintners at, 90-93; the Great Fire, 94; visited by Pepys, 94; at the Reformation, 95-97; John Sandell, vintner, 96, 97; property of St. Thomas of Acon seized by Henry VIII, and granted to Mercers' Company, 96, 97; list of vintners, 98; present site; visits by Pewterers' Company 1461, 98; by churchwardens of St. Michael's Cornhill, 1466, 99; earlier name probably the Conduit Tavern, 99; one of the forty taverns, 1553 (*see* p. 16); John Pinder, vintner there, his will, 100, 101; kinsman of Mrs. Williamson (*see* Mermaid, Bread Street), 101; Henry Fryth, vintner, 101, his will 102; 'News from Bartholomew Fair' quoted, 102; Ben Jonson's 'Every Man out of his Humour' 103; George, the drawer, 104, 105; Dekker and Webster's 'Westward Hoe,' 105; play 'Sir Thomas More' quoted, 106; Middleton's 'Your Five Gallants' quoted, 107; *Friday* at the Mitre, 107; did the dramatists refer to Mitre in Cheap or Bread Street, 107, 8 (*see also* pp. 113-115); Thomas Heywood's reference, 108. *Vintners' Company records*. John Sandell, 1507, 174; payment at the Mitre, 1511, 175; Mitre in Cheap and its vintners referred to, 176; two Swans eaten there, 177; dinners there in 1548-52, cygnets, and half a buck eaten there; supper there after procession of Edward VI, through City; Thomas Lowe there was Warden of the Company, 1548-50, 178; Master 1562-4, 181; John Pinder, vintner there, visited, 1574-6; *Audit* dinner there, 1587, 182; John Pinder, warden, 1592, Master, 1594; supplies butt of sack to Lord Buckhurst, 183; dinners 1600 onwards; 1608, dinner at Mermaid, Bread Street, for Mr. Pinder's funeral; Henry Fryth, 185; 1646, seven dinners at Mitre in Cheap; Thos. Dudley to use the Companys' barge, 187; warden, 1648, 187; in Vintners' poll list, 190.

Mitre Tavern, Ely Place, site of, its old sign, 123; Will Owen's drawing, 124.

Mitre Tavern, Fenchurch Street, its site, belonged to Pewterers' Company, Dan Rawlinson and Pepys, 124; William Hobson, vintner, 1590-1615, 125, 126; schedule of rooms and their names, 125, 126; vintners there, 126; Dan Rawlinson's household, 1641, 126;; Pepys and John Battersby, 127; Rawlinson's token; petitioner in Fire Decrees, 128; his sign; his son Sir Thomas, 129; Lord Lovat's execution, 130; its site, 130; visit by Vintners' Company, 189.

Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street; and Dr. Johnson, 131, 2; its site, 132, 135; John Webb, State Papers concerning, 136; vintners at, 136; Fire Decree concerning 'balcony house' 137, 8; Wm. Paget's token, 137; parish lists, 138, music room, 138; deed in Hustings Rolls, 140;

'Shakespeare's Rime' (by Ben Jonson), 141; Wm. Paget, translated to Vintners' Company, 143, 156; the only mention in that Company's old records, 188.
Mitre Tavern, New Fish Street: former importance of site, 157-9; token 158; noted eating-house in 1806, 158; old stone and cellars, 158; formerly on *west* side of street, an eating house, site, 159; visited by Vintners' Company, 187.
Mitre Tavern, St. Paul's Churchyard; site, 159; an early Music-house; the Goose and Gridiron, 159, 160; Mitre Court, Rocque's Map, William Paget there, 160 (*see also* Fleet Street Mitre); mentioned in Fire Decrees, 160, 161; on site of Bishop of London's Palace, 161; John Young, violinist, 162; an earlier recorded Music-house, the Bell, London Wall; Thos. Smith there presented, his token, 163.
Mitre Tavern Strand; Thomas Langton, vintner; his token, 163; site opposite the Maypole; old advt. quoted by W. &. B., concerns Samuel Pepys's father-in-law, (not pointed out by W. &. B.), his patent cure for smoking chimneys shown at the Mitre; Pepys expresses doubt of it, 164; Thomas Langton in Vintner's poll list, 1641, 190; Master of Vintners' Company, 1656.
Mitre Tavern, Wood Street; Mitre Court, 165 *seq.*, Castle Tavern there, 165; William Proctor's *Mitre* on *west* side of Wood Street, 165; the cellars in Mitre Court, Hole-in-Wall tavern, 165; Wm. Procter's token; Nunnery Court, 166; the old Mitre site discussed, 166, 167; Wm. Procter's 29 hearthes, 168; death of the plague, referred to by Pepys; entries in parish registers concerning, 169, 170; other vintners there, 169, 170; Churchwardens' dinners at, 170, 171; William Procter's Mitre a noted house, visits by Pepys; Vintners' Company dinners, 171, 172, 188, 189.
Monk, General, entertained at Vintners' Hall, wine supplied by Warden Samuel Turner (Man in the Moon Cheapside, who issued the token) and Dan Rawlinson.
More, Sir Thomas, the play, 106.
Morris, Henry, vintner, King's Head, Fleet Street, 152.
Mountford, Edward, presented and angry, 148.
Mourning Bush Tavern, sign first mentioned, 66, (*See* Mermaid, Aldersgate).
Muscadel wine, 65, 92, 153.
Music houses, 163.

Nag's Head Tavern, Cheapside, 185, 187, 190
Nag's Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, 101.
Newbold, Christopher, servant at Mermaid, Bread Street; will; mourning rings to Mr. and Mrs. Williamson.
Newman's Court, Cornhill, 77.
Newport, William, fishmonger, and the Mermaid in Bread Street, 10, 11, 13.
'News from Bartholomew Fair,' 26, 41, 102 (quoted in full); suggestion as to date of, 184.
Norman, Dr. Philip, 123.
Nunnery Court, *see* Mitre, Wood Street.

Oldham, Edward, licd. Victualler, Hercules Pillars, 144, 147.
Oliver and Mills, Survey after the Fire, 36, 46, 72, 166-7.
Ordinaries, described by Ben Jonson, 103.
Organ, Edward, vintner, Mitre, Fenchurch Street, 126.
Owen, Will; drawing of the Mitre, Ely Place, 124.

Packman, Daniel, 145.
Paget, William, 132-143; licensed victualler, then vintner, Mitre Fleet Street, his token, 137; house with *balcony*, probably not the Mitre, 137; Fire Decree concerning, 137; at the Mitre, his music-room, 138; his music room at Mitre, Paul's Churchyard, 139, 160; Marriage, 139; translated to Vintners' Company, 143, 188.
Paget, William, King's Violin, 139.
Parkinson, Henry, vintner, Horn Tavern, Fleet Street, 154-5, Master of Company, 155.
Pepys, Samuel, 66; at the Mitre in Cheap, 94; at the Mitre in Fenchurch Street, 124, 127; at the Mitre, Fleet Street, 139; at Hercules Pillars, 144; visits John Barwell, 145; visits the Sugar Loaf, Fleet Street, 148.
Perambulation Day, 66.
Pettitt, John, vintner at White Hart, Bread Street, 28.
Peter's, St., Westcheap, accounts, payments at Mermaid, Bread Street, 28.

Pewterers' Company, visit Mermaid in Bread Street, in 1477, 15; at the Half Moon, Cheapside, 48; at Mermaid, Aldersgate, 64; visit Mitre in Cheap, 1461-1485, 98; the Mitre, Aldgate, 120; owned the Mitre, Fenchurch Street, 126-9; at King's Head, Fleet Street, 153.
Plumbers' Company; visit Bread Street Mermaid, 15; dinners at Mitre, Bread Street, 1600, 112; dinner at their Hall, 118;
Pomegranate, the, badge of Queen Mary, 110.
Pope's Head Tavern, Chancery Lane, by Bell Yard, 123.
Pope's Head Tavern, Lombard Street Thomas Hancock, 178; 180, 187, 190.
Postern, Thos., Sugar Loaf, Fleet Street, 147.
Poulterers, great variety of birds supplied by, 61, 175.
Poulterers' Company, 80, 81, 99, 129.
Powell, John, vintner at Mermaid, Bow Lane, 72-3.
Powell, Philemon, vintner, Horn, Fleet Street, token, 155-6; Vintners' list, 191.
Powell, Sarah, mother of John, fined, 72; will, 73.

Prannell, Henry, Vintner at Castle, Paternoster Row, 181; warden of Company, 182.
Procter, William, the noted vintner at the Mitre, Wood Street, his token, 166; his 29 hearths, 168; death from plague, mentioned by Pepys, 169; his children, 169; made the Mitre famous, visits by Pepys, 171-2; visits by Vintners' Company, 172; in poll list, 191.
Putchin (or Pochin), Francis, vintner at the Mitre in Cheap during the Fire, 93, 94.

Radcliffe, Henry, vintner at the Horn, Fleet Street, presented, 154; will, 156.
Raglan, the, *see* Mermaid Aldersgate.
Rainbow, The, Fleet Street, James Farr's coffee-house; his household, 145.
Raleigh, Sir W., 7, 105.
Ram Alley, 132-3; inhabitants presented, 134; 140.
Rawlinson, Daniel, vintner at the Mitre, Fenchurch Street, 124; friend of Pepys, his household, 126, Searcher and warden of Vintners' Company, 127; in the Plague and Fire, his wife and servants die of Plague, Pepys and, 127; his token, 128; petitioner in Fire Decree, 128; paints his sign black; his son, Sir Thomas, 129; 189; in vintners' poll list, 192.
Rawlinson, John, pewterer, uses *Mitre* for touch, 129.
Rawlinson, Margaret, wife of Daniel; death from plague, 127.
Rawlinson, Sir Thos., son of Daniel, 127, 129.
Rocque's Map, 134, 160, 165.
Roper, Abell, stationer, 145.
Rose Tavern, Fleet Bridge, site and token 157; visited by Vintners' Company, 1516, 176; issuer of token, 190.
Rowley, William, dramatist, 106; 'A Match at Midnight' 110; the Devil Tavern, 148.

Saddlers' Company and Hall; owned the Mermaid and Half Moon, Cheapside, 37; 38, 43, 46.
St. Anne's Aldersgate, 58-62, 64, 65.
St. Botolph's, Aldgate, bill of fare of dinner, 121.
St. Dionis' Backchurch, register, etc., 126-7.
St. Dunstan's West, 133; parish lists, 138, 140, 142, 144; Churchwardens' accounts, 149-152.
St. Katherine Creechurch records, 119, 120.
St. Mary Aldermary registers, 72.
St. Mary Colechurch, records of, 84, 86-89; Churchwardens' accounts of, 90-93; bell metal after the Fire, 94; Sale of plate, etc., 95, 97; Virginia lottery, 108.
St. Michel, Alexanr. Marchant de, father-in-law of Samuel Pepys, patent for cure of smoking chimneys, 164.
St. Michael's Wood Street parish, 165-6; Churchwardens' accounts, 170-1.
St. Mildred's Bread Street, parish lists, 25-27.
St. Nicholas Olave Church and parish, 111, 113.
St. Paul's Cathedral, Paul's Walk, 103, 128.
St. Thomas of Acon; and Thomas Becket, 83; 95-97; owned the Mitre in Cheap, 95; and Mercers' Company, 96.
Salutation, Billingsgate, 188, 190.
Sandell, John, vintner at the Mitre in Cheap, 1507-1532; searcher 1513, etc., his tomb, 96; lease; wine in 1522, 97; mentioned in Vintners' Company accounts, 174-6.
Sandell, Winifred, widow of John, 97.

Scattergood, John, Vintner at the Mitre in Cheap, 86-88; 92, 93.
Shakespeare, William, 6, 7, 41, 57, 59, 129, 141.
Shepherd, Robt., pewterer, by the Mermaid, 12, 24.
Shops, the four under the Mitre, Cheap, 92-3; the three under the King's Head, Fleet Street, 151-4.
Shovel Court, adjoining the Mitre, Wood Street, 166.
Skinners' Company, 80, 99.
Smythe, Richard, vintner at the Mermaid in Bread Street; his cellar mentioned in Machyn's Diary, 19; 130; Vintners' Company dine at his house; warden, 180; searcher, 1551-1564; wine bought from; breakfast at house; upper warden, 1560-2, 180.
Sparkes, George, licensed victualler, Fleet Street, 137, demised the 'balcony house' to Wm. Paget, 137-8; Fire Decree, 138; 140, 143, 144. (*See* Mitre, Fleet Street).
Stairs on the Thames, 27, 114; important taverns near, 186; rivalry of hackney coaches, 186.
Star, the, a great messuage near Aldersgate, 52.
Star Tavern, Cheapside, 33; 130; visited by Vintners' Company for dinners etc., 176; many visits, 1563-4; claret and sack fetched from, 180-1.
Stedman, Hugh, Mitre Fleet Street, 137.
Stow, John; his Survey of value as a 'Map,' not a description of a *living* city, 4; 8, 11.
Sturgeon, eaten at Vintners' dinners, 177; 'a Jowle and two rondes of,' 178.
Subsidy lists, P.R.O., St. Mildred's Bread Street, 19, 25-7; Cheapside, 43; Aldersgate Ward, 55; St. Mary Colechurch, 88, 93, 97, 100; Queenhithe Ward, 113, 116; All Hallows, Bread Street, 118.
Sugar Loaf, the, Temple Bar, 147; Thos. Postern presented; visited by Pepys, 148.
Sun Tavern, Aldersgate, site; Thos. Hutchinson, vintner, 185.
Sutton, Simon, vintner at Mermaid, Cheapside, 43.
Swans and Signets eaten at Vintners' Company dinners, 177; at the Mermaid, 178; at the Mitre in Cheap, 183; 189.
Swan, The, at Dowgate, Nicholas Croswayte vintner, 181; Thos. Cox, warden; Vintners' Company hold many dinners there, 1654, 188.
Swan, The, Old Fish Street; John Marshall issuer of the token, 187.
Syrenaicks, The, frequenters of the Bread Street Mermaid, 7, 21, 32, 33.

Tappin, William, vintner, Mermaid Cornhill, baptisms of children; issuer of the token, 78, 79, 192.
Tarlton, Richard, 106.
Taverners, 2, 4.
Taverns, 2; the *forty* permitted in 1553, list, 15, 16; 1564 list, 17; named rooms in, 34, 35; 125-6; list in News from Bartholomew Fair 102; names of those visited by Vintners' Company, 175-190 (Many not specially named in Index, amongst them the Dog at Westminster, Heaven, and Hell, and the Leg there, etc., pp. 185-189); Competition of new taverns in 17th century, with competition of *hackney coaches* against river traffic, and creation of the *Court* district at Whitehall by the Stewart Kings, seriously affected the ancient taverns, 186; interference of Charles I, with the taverns, 26-28, 186.
Taylor, Richard, vintner, Devil Tavern; hearths, 147; token, 148.
Thames, the, great highway of Old London, 8; 108; 114; 186.
Three Cranes tavern, the, 114, 130; visited by Vintners' Company, 175-7; breakfast at, 1551, 179; Thomas Prowse vintner there, 17; Warden, 1576, 132; 184; General Monk's life guard there, 190.
Three Squirrels, The, Henry Pinkney, goldsmith; his household, 145.
Three Tuns, Guildhall Gate, 92, 180.
Timbs, John, 55, 71.
Tokens, 9 (W. R's token); 28, 39, 63, 69, 72, 76, 81, 89, 119, 122, 128, 137, 144, 146, 147, 148, 152, 155, 158, 163, 166; 190-193, names marked with one asterisk issued tokens, and *two* asterisks denote those issuers whose names were unknown by W. and B.
Trinity, Priory of the Holy, Aldgate, 120.
Truscott, Sir George, Bart., past master of Vintner's Company, 146.
Tuffill, Paymr. Commdr. H. B., C.B.E. Clerk of Vintners' Company, 176.
Turk's Head Coffee House, St. Paul's Churchyard, 160-1.

Vademecum for Maltworms, 161.
Vintners, poll tax list of, 1641, 89, 112, 122, 136; transcription of, 190-193; Names of issuers of

tokens, unknown to W. and B., marked with *two* asterisks.
Vintners' Company and Hall; 2, 3, 28, quarrel with Common Council, many imprisoned, 60, 61; many presented 100; bequests to, by John Pinder, 101, by Henry Fryth, 102; dinners, 119, 127; records of, 130; names of taverns visited, etc., 174-190; foodstuffs consumed at dinners, 174-5; dinners at the Three Cranes, Star and Horsehead in Cheap, Mermaid in Bread Street, 175-6, etc.; at Mermaid, Bread Street, Mitre in Cheap, Three Cranes, St. John's Head, etc., 177-181; the Cook's allowance of Rhenish wine and sack, 181-2; dinners at the Goat, Smithfield, and Sun, Aldersgate Street, after the Fire; dinner to General Monk, 189.
Vintners' Company Searchers, 18, 19, 89, 98; present defective wines, 22, 60, 100.
Virginia Lottery, St. Mary Colechurch, 108.

Wadlow, John, son of Simon, Devil Tavern, his token, household, 146, letter from, 147, 150, 151.
Wadlow, Simon, vintner at Devil Tavern, 145-6; ordered to reform his sign, 146; and Ben Jonson, 146, 150-1.
Walbanke, Joseph, vintner at Horn, Fleet Street, his token, 155.
Walton, Isaac, 154.
Wardmote, Register of St. Dunstan's West, 133-4, nuisances presented.
Wastall, Thos., vintner at Mermaid, Cornhill; fined for defective wine; mentioned in St. Peter's registers, 79.
Watney, Sir John, History of St. Thomas' of Acon, 95, etc.
Webb, Henry, owned Cat and Fiddle, Fleet Street, 135, 142.
Webb, John, 'recusant,' *see* Mitre, Fleet Street.
'Westward Hoe,' play by Dekker and Webster, 23.
Whaley, Thos., vintner, Mermaid, Cornhill, 78.
Whitefriars, 132-3.
White Hart, Bread Street, 28, 181.
White Horse tavern, Friday Street; Arlington Kelly there, 17; Wm. Mead, vintner, 26; 130; Vintners' Company dine there, 1544, 177-8; 180, 184; the only one of the *forty* taverns of 1553 represented today, 186.
Wilkins, George, dramatist, 106; play quoted, 109, 110.
Williamson, Anne, wife of the vintner at Mermaid, Bread Street; executrix of his will, 25; related to John Pinder, Mitre in Cheap, 101.
Williamson, William, vintner at Mermaid, Bread Street; tenant of Fishmongers Co., 11-13; in the time of Ben Jonson, etc.; searcher for Vintners' Company, 1589 onwards, 21; presented, 22; Warden; associated with Wm. Johnson, 24, 25, 184; his servant's bequest; his will, 25; 101; Vintners' Company dine at his house, 1588, 182; mentioned 183-4; Master of Company, 184; many dinners at Mermaid, 184-5; the whole livery dine there at Mr. Pinder's funeral, 185.
Wills of Vintners, 20, 25 (2), 50, 73, 101, 102, 111, 126, 150, 156, 181.
Willson, Lewis, vintner, King's Head, Fleet Street, etc., 152.
Withens, Robert, Master of Vintners' Company, 1584; father of donor of Falstaff' Cup to St. Michael's, Crooked Lane.
Wotton, Miss, her interesting ideas about the Mermaid, Aldersgate, 57-8.
Wright, Thomas, vintner, Boar's Head, East Cheap, 61; warden, 1588, 182.
Young, John, violinist, 161-2.
'Your Five Gallants,' Middleton, 107.

*Titus Wilson & Son, Printers Kendal.*